

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE



His Excellency The Right Hon'ble  
BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST  
G.C.B. G.M.S.I. G.C.M.G. G.M.I.E. G.C.V.O. I.S.O. C.V.O.  
Viceroy and Governor General of India

# **SPEECHES**

OF

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G.C.B., G.M.S.F., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., I.S.O., C.V.O.

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

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H. E. Lady HARDINGE, CI

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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"WHO is the Happy Warrior whom every man in arms should wish to be?" This question was asked by the poet at a time when men's thoughts and energies were occupied with war and the overthrow of a man whom they had identified with the enemy of civilization, and answered by the poet in a matchless delineation of an ideal hero. There is equal need at the present moment in India for the picture of a calm and self balanced Administrator, such as every man in authority should wish to be, who would by sheer moral force lay the monster of misunderstanding and hatred and rear up in this land a system of government in which the will of the rulers and the ruled shall more and more approximate. For such a portrait the original is supplied by the Ruler of India whose speeches are herein brought together. These form a lucid exposition of his spirit and aims. There is about them none of the glint and glitter of heartless oratory. They are as closely wedded to

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honest purpose as to clear-headed action Springing out of the one they lead naturally to the other Will, word and work are but points in a straight line

These speeches serve one great purpose They help the people to enter with sympathy and understanding into the workings of the Vice-regal mind The revelation of the Royal mind and character has gone a great way towards convincing the Indian people that England means the best by them In the revelation of the Vice-regal mind of Lord Hardinge is to be seen the heart of England in its daily strivings with the complicated and multitudinous problems which have to be solved before India can be said to be fairly started on her course of progressive political, social and industrial life These speeches are like a crystal dome covering a piece of clock work, revealing the movement of every wheel, great and small, in the wonderful mechanism within They reveal a personality at once tactful and transparent, polite and bold, sympathetic and cleared eyed and firm willed The more the character of Lord Hardinge is understood, the more easy will the work of governing India become

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Attempts are made all over the country to infuse into the mind of young India the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the British Government. Loyalty cannot, in our opinion, be effectually taught in the abstract, nor can it be inculcated by recounting past services. Gratitude is too slender a virtue to withstand the strain of present grievance. Loyalty is best created by the presentation of a personality in action which means well and strives to do good. 'He went about doing good.' This appeals to the human heart more than elaborate disquisitions about virtue. It is in pursuance of this method of creating love for the Government that these 'noble breathings of the Vice-regal mind' are presented to the public, and we feel confident that they will result in a rich harvest of peace and good-will throughout the land.

For Wisdom dealt with mortal powers,  
Where truth in closest words shall fail,  
When truth embodied in a tale  
Shall enter in at lowly doors

And so the Word had breath, and wrought  
With human hands the creed of creeds  
In loveliness of perfect deeds  
More strong than all poetic thought,

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Which he may read who binds the sheaf,  
Or builds the house, or digs the grave,  
And those wild eyes that watch the wave  
In roarings round the coral reef.

MADRAS, .

O. K. C.

*20th February, 1913.*)

## Lord Hardinge—An appreciation.

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LORD HARDINGE came to this country with a very high reputation. He had held high Ambassadorial offices, having been employed successively at Constantinople, Berlin, Washington, Sofia, Bucharest, Teheran and St. Petersburg, while as permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office (1906—1910), it was his good fortune to take part in the completion of the great International settlement known as the Anglo-Russian Convention. In fact, it is true to say that his career is summed up in the two words—Russia and India. The main object and effect of his work has been to remove from India the menace of war with Russia. It is the commonplace of international politics that the Anglo-Russian Convention dominates the diplomacy of two Continents. Its supreme justification consists in the fact that it has compelled peace in Tibet, has removed the nightmare of complications on the North-West Frontier, and has ensured conditions making for the eventual peaceful evolution of a new Persia, which, at any rate, shall not fall a helpless prey

to the aggressive anti-British designs of any foreign Power. It was indeed a fortunate thing for India that the statesman who had played so great a part in the diplomatic negotiations resulting in the Anglo-Russian Convention should have been called to the highest office under the British Crown in India, to carry out the policy of the Convention, to fulfil its objects and justify its beneficent aims.

It is beyond the scope of this short sketch to dwell on the larger aspects of the International Policy of which the Anglo-Russian Convention constitutes a notable expression. It is well, however, to note in passing what India owes to the gifted statesman and the tact, sagacity and self-possession of the far-seeing diplomatist whose labour for India began long before he came to India. An otherwise well-informed critic, writing after the announcement of Lord Hardinge's appointment, doubted whether his lordship possessed the qualities of imagination and sympathy. The criticism was singularly short-sighted. Who can deny imagination to the Viceroy who executed the splendid, moving pageantry of the Royal Visit? Who can deny sympathy to the Viceroy who pacified

Bengal? Then, again, it was said that the "arts of diplomacy" were out of place in the Indian Administration. If the implication was that Lord Hardinge was deficient in the qualities of directness and sincerity, the criticism is obviously unjust and entirely wide of the mark. Who can deny the qualities of directness and sincerity to the Viceroy who conceived the educational ideals to be embodied in the new Dacca University, to the pattern of which, it is sincerely to be hoped, every Indian University, official or non-official, will in due time approximate? It must be apparent to the least informed that the reforms in higher education desiderated in some of the earliest of His Excellency's speeches were the outcome of deep thought and patient investigation of the existing circumstances of University life and education. Lord Curzon would have fussed prodigiously about it, delivered speeches of portentous length: inspired and directed a press campaign in England: and enthused in his favourite fashion until everybody was made to believe that a new earth and a new heaven were about to be created. Is it conceivable that Lord Curzon would have made the private visit to Calcutta hostels which

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saw the beginning of the most fruitful reform in the educational sphere which Lord Hardinge has undertaken? And yet that sensational visit was intended to be strictly private, and it was due to a pure accident—and a happy journalistic indiscretion—that it was ever known to the public. Lord Hardinge's methods of educational reform would perhaps not have had the approval of Barrum, but what a perfect example they are of quiet, effective organisation and wise, well thought out adaptation of means to ends! His Excellency says exactly what he means. His methods are straight and simple. The fact is, the traditional arts of diplomacy are strikingly absent in everything Lord Hardinge has said or done during the stressful two years that have elapsed since he assumed charge from Lord Minto. The man is better than his training, the statesman always triumphs over the diplomatist. No Viceroy in recent times has excelled Lord Hardinge in the art of going straight to the point. In this respect, he reminds one of Lord Dalhousie. Suavity—yes, in abundance, but suavity which is not put on as a mere disguise. Blandly expressing intentions which you never seriously entertained is perhaps a trick of diplo-



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macy ; but Lord Hardinge has great work to do and means to do it Patient, disdaining empty popular applause, or thoughtless, however vociferous, detraction, Lord Hardinge plans wisely, acts swiftly. Strong and tireless, His Excellency stands out the type of ruler India wants

This is not meant to be a critical introduction to a volume of speeches which speak for themselves ; such an introduction would be as needless as a sermon before a surloin All that is attempted is a general estimate of Lord Hardinge's work That work, such as it is, is well-nigh completed , only the worry of seeing the details through remains It is the good, or ill, fortune of most Viceroys to be treated to a lot of more or less well meant advice tendered by more or less competent, more or less disinterested parties Lord Hardinge had more than his share of such advice Of course, he was asked to rule by blood and iron He was directed as to the minutest details of the administration of the "strong" measures enacted by his predecessor Needless to say that Lord Hardinge has carefully avoided doing anything of the sort Some of his most notable acts illustrate the tendency not to let the

administration lose its head, which is perhaps the most striking feature of Lord Hardinge's policy in regard to what is conveniently designated the Indian Unrest. His refusal to go on with the Khulna case is one example the restraint he put upon the Police after the appalling infamy of December 23rd 1912, is another.

The strong ruler determined to be just! That, we think, will be recognised by future generations as most characteristic achievement of Lord Hardinge's administration. As many knew before and after Pliny, "No one is wise at all hours." It is possible Lord Hardinge has made mistakes, it would indeed be wonderful if he did not make mistakes. A recent writer succinctly states some of the difficulties of the most difficult post in the Empire. "Its holder is very isolated and needs an extraordinary amount of self reliance. He is tolerably certain to meet with opposition in India, in some form or other, during the earlier years of his control. If he has the approbation of Indian public opinion, he will probably encounter severe criticism from the Services. If he too visibly takes a Service view of prominent questions, he may expect attacks from

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the vernacular press and from garrulous Indian politicians. But he was not to reckon with India alone. He must also keep one eye on London. Strained relations with the Secretary of State or with the minor magnates of the India Office may at any moment seriously embarrass his policy. There is always the possibility of antagonism from the small but very vocal groups in Parliament which make India their peculiar care. A potent source of annoyance, rather than of practical difficulty, is the occasional enmity manifested in the vague floating gossip of London society, where the doings of a Viceroy of India are sometimes discussed with petty rancour and without much regard for accuracy. It may be thought that the head of the great Government of India can at least afford to be indifferent to irresponsible London chatter about his work. He cannot quite do so. In the last resort India is governed from London. The subtle poison spreads and embitters. It may at any moment affect not only the popular judgment in England, but even the actual decisions upon great issues. An atmosphere of disapprobation in London may at times be very hampering, although it is generally so

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intangible that it cannot be effectively combated" It will be observed that the writer of the foregoing extract omits to mention the influence of the atmosphere of disapprobation nearer home—the subtle poison which spreads and embitters everything and which has its origin in the hostility of the non-official European community concentrated in Calcutta It was Lord Hardinge's misfortune to meet the fury of this hostile opinion in full blast It is true His Excellency met it with splendid courage, and supreme disdain, but due allowance must be made for the existence and influence of this hostility not only upon what passes for "contemporary opinion" in this country but upon what is reflected of it in the London Press It is beside the purpose of the present sketch to discuss the grounds of Calcutta's hostility to Lord Hardinge or to pronounce upon its value and importance There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that its bitterness, thoughtlessness and unscrupulousness have proved a source of embarrassment to the Government of India and of endless annoyance to its distinguished head

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### BANQUET TO LORD HARDINGE BY THE COUNTY OF KENT.

[A Banquet was given, on the night of the 20th October, 1910, at the Savoy Hotel, London, by the County of Kent to Lord Hardinge of Penshurst on his appointment as Governor-General and Viceroy of India. The Chair was occupied by Lord Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and among those present were, in addition to the guest of the evening, Lord Cromer, Lord G. Hamilton, Lord Darnley, Lord Hardinge, Lord Goschen, Sir W. Hart Dyke, Lord Weardale, the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of Rochester, Lord Stanhope, Lord Falmouth, Lord Harris, Lord Northbourne, Lord H. Nevill, Lord Errington, Lord Cranley, Sir Eric Barrington, Sir W. E. Garstin, Sir W. Allchin, Mr. L. Hardy, M.P., Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., Sir W. Barrington, Sir O. Cartwright, Sir A. Wollaston, Sir Marcus Samuel, Sir R. West, Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir J. Furley, Sir H. Lennard, Colonel Sir J. R. Dunlop-Smith, Sir G. S. Mackenzie, Sir F. Lely, Sir

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*S Edgerley, and the Mayors of Bromley Rochester, Faversham, Maidstone, Margate Ramsgate, and Gillingham, and the Deputy Mayor of Tunbridge Wells*

*Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, who was cordially received, said] —*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN —I am most profoundly touched by the very exceptional compliment that has been paid to me in the Address that I have received, which, with its enormous array of names, has assumed such a charming form as that of an album containing views of our beloved County, a picture of our victorious cricket eleven, and reproductions of other interesting objects connected with Kent. My attention has been drawn to the fact that among the long list of signatures is that of a lady of Burstead, who is over 101 years of age, and who has signed her name with her own hand. Although I have not the honour of the lady's acquaintance, I should like to express to her on behalf of us all our congratulations and hope that she may still have many years of health and happiness before her  
(Cheers)

I thank you all most cordially, as well as all those who have signed the address and who

## FAREWELL BANQUET BY KLNT

unfortunately are unable to be here to night, for the congratulations contained in it and for the good wishes expressed on behalf of Lady Hardinge and myself I can only assure you that this charming album will always be regarded by me and my family as a unique and priceless treasure, and that, when lying on my table at Calcutta or Simla, it will serve as a perpetual encouragement to me to prove myself worthy of my County in the fulfilment of my duties, with the certain knowledge that in so doing I shall have the full sympathy and support of you all (*Cheers*) It has always been to me a source of regret that owing to my duties abroad in the Diplomatic Service, I have seen during the last thirty years so little of my County and of my friends in the County, but, although in the course of my wanderings I have had many temporary homes in distant lands I have never felt that any one of them could compete in my love and affection for the home of my childhood and youth with its wooded slopes and smiling hop gardens and orchards that are so familiar to all of us, Kentish men and men of Kent (*Cheers*) My thoughts have, however, always been with you, and among many other notable and recent events connected with our

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County I have watched with the utmost pride and pleasure the triumphant progress of our cricket team from one Championship to another, and in these days when people talk of the decadence of our race I have hugged to myself the conviction—that, wherever else decadence may be found, it is not to be found in the County of Kent, and that the sons of Kent are still worthy, as they ever have been, of the proud motto of their County—"Invicta" (Cheers)

Now that I am about to take up the great task that has been confided to me in our Indian Empire, it is a great satisfaction to realise how the traditions of my family and the surroundings of my childhood have all these years been quietly preparing me for my new duties, and have inspired me with a sympathy and interest in India and all that is connected with India that otherwise might have been lukewarm. Surrounded as I have been during my youth by the works of art brought home by my mother and by my father, by books on the pictures containing views of India and the episodes of Indian life, I can hardly imagine that I shall see for the first time when I go to India will be the work of my imagination, and



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that the dazzling snow-tops of the Himalayas and the glowing sunsets on the Ganges will not be entirely strange or new (*Hear, hear*) It has been said, and with perhaps some truth, that it is unfortunate that I have had no previous experience in India I confess that I myself would like to feel that I had greater knowledge of the internal affairs of India than I now possess, but, on the other hand, it may be urged, with equal and perhaps even greater force, that I go to India with a mind absolutely free from bias or prejudice that might otherwise have influenced me in considering and dealing with the vast and intricate social and political problems that must necessarily confront me from the very day that I set foot for the first time on Indian soil (*Cheers*) Again, although I have still to look forward to acquiring a thorough knowledge of the internal situation in India, I think I may say truthfully and without exaggeration that during the last fifteen years of my work in the Diplomatic Service and Foreign Office few people have been so favoured as I have been in being brought into close contact with the weightiest issues upon which the external relations of India with her co terminous neighbours depend

and which affect not merely the external policy of India alone but the policy of Imperial unity as a whole.

It was in 1896 that I was sent by Lord Salisbury to Persia, and it was there that I fully realised for the first time the senseless rivalry that actuated British and Russian foreign policy in Persia and Central Asia, by which not only were the political and material interests of two Great Powers, and also of India, adversely affected, but the commercial and political development of the countries which formed the object of this rivalry were at the same time seriously impeded. It was after 18 months spent in Teheran that I was moved on to St Petersburg, and it did not take long for me to acquire there the absolute conviction that the intrigues and counter-intrigues of British and Russian Agents in Persia and Central Asia constituted in reality a serious menace to European peace, and at the same time entailed on Indian revenues heavy military expenditure on defensive and precautionary measures. Although this is happily now past history, which I believe will never repeat itself, I think I may without a breach of confidence that closing years of the last century and

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the opening years of the present, although our relations with Russia were what in diplomatic language is called "correct," they could only by a stretch of the imagination have been described as "friendly." The Russian menace was always before us, and the possibility of a Russian invasion of India, the perpetual bugbear of our military authorities both in Pall Mall and Calcutta. I have grave doubts as to whether such projects were ever seriously contemplated in those days by the Russian Government, but the mere mention of them was quite sufficient to work up the people and Press of both countries to fever heat in angry polemics and active opposition to each other in Asia. (*Cheers*) It should not be forgotten that the long succession of Afghan Wars, and lastly, the expedition to Lhasa, with the immense and useless expenditure of life and treasure that they entailed, were largely due to antagonism to Russia and to the fear of Russian aggression. It was, if I may venture without presumption to say so, a masterstroke of policy on the part of Lord Lansdowne, when Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to have first initiated negotiations with the Russian Government to put an end to this situation of veiled hostility.

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fraught with danger to Great Britain and Russia and to the Indian Empire. Unfortunately, Lord Lansdowne's efforts bore no immediate fruit, owing to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, during the course of which the negotiations remained necessarily in abeyance. The postponement was happily only temporary, for almost immediately after the conclusion of the War and the accession of the present Government to office, Sir E. Grey, my late Chief, for whom I entertain feelings of the greatest respect and affection (*Cheers*), at once reopened negotiations with the Russian Government, and within eighteen months brought them to a satisfactory conclusion (*Cheers*). The Convention that was then concluded has already withstood the test of trial and has substituted relations of friendship and confidence where hostility and distrust had hitherto prevailed. It has been observed by both parties to it with the utmost loyalty, and has happily resulted in the mutual co-operation of the two Powers for the maintenance of peace in Asia. The advantage to India of this peaceful development is incalculable, since the Russian menace has been dispelled and the bogey of a Russian invasion has been laid, thus giving

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greater opportunity and freedom to those entrusted with administration in India to consider many social problems affecting the welfare and development of the Indian people. (*Cheers*). It is only right that I should here add that this successful issue was largely promoted by the beneficent influence of our great and deeply regretted Sovereign King Edward VII. (*Cheers*), and by the Emperor of Russia, who, to my personal knowledge, has always been a strong advocate of friendly and peaceful relations between his country and our own.

I have referred to this matter at some length, not only to point out the inestimable value to India of the Convention concluded with Russia three years ago, which, I think, has never been fully appreciated in India, but to give at the same time one example out of many of how closely diplomacy is connected with all of the numerous questions affecting the external relations of the Indian Empire. (*Cheers*).

As for internal conditions in India, I can, as I have already said, only lay claim to a superficial knowledge of them; but there are certain obvious principles which it must be the duty

of every responsible administrator to follow. Mr Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, in his very able speech on the Indian Budget, wound up by quoting an extract of a letter from the great Sir R. Peel to my grandfather on his appointment to the post of Governor-General of India, and in his concluding remarks proffered advice to me in the same sense. You will, I am sure, pardon me if I repeat this short and interesting quotation—"If," wrote Sir R. Peel, "you can keep peace, reduce expenses, extend commerce, and strengthen our hold on India by confidence in our justice and kindness and wisdom, you will be received here on your return with acclamations a thousand times louder and a welcome infinitely more cordial than if you had a dozen victories to boast of." (*Cheers*). These were wise words and a true and applicable now as they were when written more than sixty years ago. I have laid them to heart, but had Sir Robert lived now during this period of transition in India when some of the old landmarks are being removed to give a wider scope to the intelligence and intellectual ability of our Indian fellow subjects, he would, I think, have given some additional advice, possibly on the following lines—that the new Viceroy should

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watch over with the utmost care and vigilance and do his utmost to consolidate the beneficent and far-reaching scheme of Reforms introduced by Lord Morley and Lord Minto—(*Cheers*)—for associating the people of India more closely with the management of their own affairs. He might also have added that the Viceroy should strain every nerve to conciliate all races, classes and creeds. My Lords and Gentlemen, it will be my humble duty honestly to endeavour to follow the precepts so clearly laid down by Sir R. Peel and those that I have had the temerity to suggest as likely additions had that eminent statesman lived in our day, and in pursuing this course I shall be fortified by the profound sympathy and regard that I entertain and have always entertained for our Indian fellow-subjects and by my earnest desire to contribute at least something to their material welfare and development. (*Cheers*).

Lord Minto's administration will always become memorable as a landmark in the era of Reform, and he will bequeath to me a new *regime* already in force though still young in development. It will be my task to foster this young plant with tender care, and at the same time to see that the word "government" is syno-

nymous with peace, order, and security (*Oheers*). To achieve these objects I shall rely upon the helpful co-operation of all classes in India, but especially on the Legislative Councils and that great and distinguished body, the Civil Service of India, and I am convinced that that co-operation will be freely and loyally given. There is no one who realises more clearly than I do the difficulties of the task before me and the heavy burden of responsibility that I must assume, nor is there anybody more conscious of his own limitations than I am, but, confident in the sympathy and support that I expect and have the right to expect from all classes and all parties whether in Great Britain or in India, I trust that at the conclusion of my term of five years of office we may be able to look back upon a period of peace, contentment and material progress, and that, following the example of our victorious cricket eleven, it may be the verdict of our County that I have kept my wicket up and have carried out my bat to the honour and credit of the distinguished County of which I have the good fortune and happiness to be one of its most humble sons (*Laughter and cheers*)



## LORD HARDINGE AND THE HARROVIANS

*[Old Harrovians attended in large numbers at the Savoy Hotel on the 24th October, 1910 at a dinner given by the Harrow Association to Lord Hardinge of Penshurst on his appointment as Viceroy of India. The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, (Dr Montagu Butler) presided, and among those present were the Earl of Crewe, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord George Hamilton, Mr Justice Channel, Mr Justice Ridley, the Head Master of Harrow, and Lord Ronaldshay, M P*

*Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, who was received with cheers, said] —“ During the 30 years that I have spent in diplomacy I have endeavoured to act up to the best traditions of the Service, and to hold my tongue, which is one of the first maxims impressed upon the young men who enter the portals of the Foreign Office for the first time, and which is sometimes not quite so easy to follow as it sounds. In any case, however indiscreet I may have been in private conversation with my personal friends, my worst enemy could never accuse me of any predisposition to yield to temptations to make speeches in public, and, were it not for*

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the insistent and generous hospitality of my friends at this juncture, I think that I might still have succeeded in evading any obligations in this respect until I leave these shores. I fully realise, however, that from the moment I reach the shores of India it will frequently be my duty to break forth in speech, a prospect that is a little alarming to a person of a would-be retiring disposition, who has always a feeling of intense compassion for Secretaries of State and Parliamentary Under-Secretaries, who from their places in Parliament have to explain and sometimes to condone the actions and shortcomings of their permanent and subordinate officials like myself. There are, however, so many new experiences, new duties, and new responsibilities that will greet me in India that I sometimes feel almost dazed at the prospect, and begin to think that after all speech-making may prove to be only a lesser evil.

During the last few weeks my thoughts have naturally turned to India and to some matters relating to India which have their connexions in England itself. Amongst these I have thought a good deal of the position of Indian students in this country, and a short time ago I had an interesting conversation

## HARROVIANS' FAREWELL DINNER

with an Indian gentleman of great ability, who has made it his business to be in touch with some of the large number of Indian students who are working in our universities, hospitals, and law schools, and the account he gave me was not very encouraging and provided me with food for serious reflection. Most of these young students are young men of good family in India, often sent at considerable sacrifice by their parents, who are some of the most loyal of our fellow-subjects in India, in order that their sons may obtain a good education in England and associate with English gentlemen of good repute and social position. Unfortunately, whether the fault be with the English or the Indian students, or with their masters and teachers, I hear that they mix rarely together in our universities and law schools, and that the Indian students are exposed to evil influences and temptations that can only be resisted successfully by a strong moral sense of right and duty. I have heard of regrettable instances of attempts at seditious and disloyal propaganda amongst the students, but I trust that the poison has not sunk deep. It should, I think, be the duty of every one to do all in his power to assist and protect the

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Indian students from all pernicious influences, whether at the universities or elsewhere, and at the same time to make their lives happy in this country while in pursuit of their studies (*Cheers*) It should be always remembered that these young men when they return to India, whatever their sentiments may be, will be the flower of the educated minority in that country, and will be in a position by their ability and learning to exercise influence on many whether for right or wrong

I only wish that a leaf could be taken from the practice at Harrow School, where only two months ago I witnessed an incident which I am told is an everyday occurrence I am so fortunate as to have a boy at Harrow, and I went there to see him and to watch a cricket match As is expected of parents on such occasions I took my son to have a large and heavy tea at the Harrow teashop where I saw numerous other boys in groups of two and three sitting at small tables and enjoying themselves Presently I noticed an Indian boy enter with two other boys, and sitting down together at a small table order tea for themselves I could not help noticing the friendly comradeship that existed between the three boys, who were evi-

## HARROVIANS FAREWELL DINNER

dently on the best of terms together I asked my son whether Indian boys were at any disadvantage at Harrow in comparison with other boys, and he assured me that not the slightest difference is made, and that Indian boys are treated by other boys as being on a footing of perfect equality with them This is as it should be, and were it so elsewhere I cannot help feeling that the life of an Indian student in England might be made happier than it now is I know that Lord Morley has made efforts during the last few years to improve the position of the Indian students, but there is still much that might be done which must necessarily be left to private initiative and to the good feeling of their English fellow students I have ventured to refer to this question to night as I regard it as one of Imperial concern to the future of our Empire, and I believe that a little kindness shown to these young men would repay itself a thousandfold by the spread in India of a warmer spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Empire (*Cheers*)

I have already referred to the impressions of duty and responsibility that are acquired during school and college life, of which the value cannot be unduly exaggerated I think

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

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## HARROVIANS FARLWLLL DINNER

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I have already referred to the impressions of duty and responsibility that are acquired during school and college life, of which the value cannot be unduly exaggerated I think

it will not be disputed when I say that it is upon the highest conception by the British nation of their duty and responsibility towards India that the whole structure of British administration in India has been founded ever since the affairs of the East India Company were taken over by the British Government. We have in the past and present endeavoured to govern India for the benefit of India and our Indian fellow subjects, and we are doing a work in Asia such as has never been attempted by any other nation (*Cheers*). We have recognised our duty and responsibility towards India by our efforts to promote the progress and to improve the material condition of the people, while maintaining the Pax Britannica, without undue interference with their religions and prejudices. It can never be said of the British Government, as was said by Canning of the Dutch, that they were fond of giving too little and asking too much. We have given India our best, and all that we ask for in return is loyalty and progress (*Cheers*).

I see no reason to doubt the loyalty of the great masses in India, and there can be no question whatever as to the progressive development of the Indian people. The recent reforms



## HARROVIANS' FAREWELL DINNER.

introduced by Lord Morley are conclusive proof of intellectual progress in India, and should have a pacifying and conciliatory effect. One hears and reads in the Press a good deal on the subject of unrest in India. Although there have been dastardly crimes during the last two or three years that seem so entirely foreign to the nature and natural temperament of our Indian fellow-subjects, it is difficult to imagine that such wicked crimes, of which the origin is still somewhat obscure, could be more than the benighted action of a misguided few, for the recent and spontaneous outburst of loyalty and devotion to the Crown on the death of our great and deeply-regretted King was striking evidence of the intense loyalty of the vast majority of the Indian people (*Cheers*). I may be wrong, but I am full of hope that the unrest in India will disappear under the influence of sympathy and kindness combined with firmness and that it will give place to a period of calm and of prosperous commercial and agricultural expansion (*Cheers*).

In a few days' time I shall be leaving these shores for a nominal term of five years in India. I imagine that the period of the hardest work of my life is before me. Whether it be possible during such a period for a man to

## SPEECHS OF LORD HARDINGE

make any permanent impression may be a question open to discussion, but I cannot help thinking that a limitation of the term of office of Viceroy was a wise provision, for there must also be a limit to the powers of endurance of the continual strain that is inevitable and inherent to the office. I hope that it is not unnatural that I should feel some diffidence as to my ability to fulfil adequately the duties and responsibilities that have been confided to me and to grapple with the stupendous problems that will confront me at every turn, but I think that I can have no higher ideal than to endeavour to follow in the footsteps of my distinguished Harrovian predecessors, amongst whom occur the illustrious names of Hastings, Wellesley and Dalhousie (*Cheers*). It would be presumptuous on my part to imagine for an instant that I could ever aspire to distinction such as theirs, but, although I cannot hope to add anything to the lustre of our Alma Mater, it will be my honest endeavour to do nothing to detract from it, and always to be true to the honour of Harrow, our great and dearly cherished School, with the certain knowledge that I can absolutely rely on the sympathy and confidence of my Harrow school fellows and friends (*Cheers*).

## ARRIVAL IN INDIA BOMBAY'S WELCOME.

*[Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge, and the Hon'ble Mr Diamond Hardinge, landed at the Apollo Bunder at 8 A.M on the 18th November, 1910, under a Royal salute of 31 guns, fired in the stream by H.M S Hyacinth, the Flagship of the East Indies Squadron*

*A deputation from the Government House boarded the steamer before the landing and returned with the Viceregal party to the Bunder Immediately Their Excellencies stepped out of the launch, they were cordially welcomed by H E Sir George and Lady Clarke, who conducted them up the steps, over which was displayed, in a beautifully erected shamiana, the Coat of Arms of the new Viceroy A brilliant gathering of Officers of the Public Services and Indian notabilities and the Foreign Consuls was in attendance, and all the Civil, Military and Naval officers present, as also the members of Council, the Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal Councillors, were introduced to Lord Hardinge*

*The Viceroy was conducted to a specially erected dais, where the Municipal Address was presented by the President*

*His Excellency in reply said) —*

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

I thank you very warmly for the Address that you have presented and for the kindly welcome you have extended to me on setting foot for the first time upon the shores of India. I am grateful for the appreciative reference to my grandfather's services in India, and in assuming the burden and responsibilities of the great service that has been confided to me I take courage from his example. Much as he desired peace, it was his fate and misfortune to be involved in an internal war, but he nevertheless succeeded during the course of his administration in contributing to the material advancement of the people of India. Times have changed since then, when the appointment of an Indian servant to be a Deputy Magistrate was regarded as a remarkable concession and innovation, but the present and future are rife with problems of a more complex nature and more difficult character than those of the past. It shall be my aim to face this with courage and sympathy and to maintain the policy initiated by Lord Minto, who has so calmly and steadily met the difficulties of the past five years and is so soon to bid you good-bye.

With the city of Bombay I have an older and even closer link than through my grand-

father, for I am told that the Cathedral of your city there is a monument which, according to the inscription it bears, was erected by the public spirit of Bombay to consecrate the memory of Captain George Nicholas Hardinge, of the Royal Navy, who died for British India in the moment of victory after a three days' combat and the capture, off the coast of Ceylon, of a large French frigate which had been the terror of the Indian seas. This was my great uncle and the naval engagement took place 102 years ago.

You will not expect me to make any pronouncement at the present moment upon the two questions of great, though local, importance upon which you have touched in your Address. It is not unlikely that they may come before me in future, in which case you may rest assured that your views and wishes will receive my earnest and careful consideration. I share your hope that your great and beautiful city may continue to advance in the path of progress and prosperity, and there is every reason to be hopeful for the future when we look back upon the past. Two and a half centuries ago Bombay was described by one writer as "only a poor little island," but even in those times one of

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.

the greatest of your Governors, who must have been imbued with prophetic instinct, spoke of it as "a city which by God's assistance is intended to be built," and you have now another Governor like him, to whom you can confidently turn for help and guidance in all matters affecting the prosperity and progressive development of "Bombay the beautiful."

Since my arrival in this port this morning, my attention has been drawn to a telegram which has come from England, to the effect that Their Most Gracious Majesties the King Emperor and Queen-Empress have resolved to come to India to hold a Durbar on the 1st January, 1912. I have no official confirmation of this news at present, but I think that I shall *voice the opinion and feelings of India* when I say that we devoutly hope that this may be fulfilled, and that we may have an opportunity of giving His Majesty the most cordial welcome that has ever been offered to any Sovereign by their most loyal and devoted subjects.

## BOMBAY MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

own proper sphere to contribute to the welfare and needs of the women in India.

In expressing to you once more my warm appreciation of your address, allow me to thank you, Mr. President and gentlemen, for the beautiful casket in which it is enclosed.

## THE BOMBAY MOSLEM LEAGUE

*[The Bombay Moslem League presented an Address to H E Lord Hardinge on the 18th November, 1910, to which he made the following reply] —*

Mr President and Gentlemen of the Bombay Presidency Moslem League,—I thank you warmly for your Address and for the friendly terms in which it is couched. I am hardly qualified on this first day of sojourn in India to discuss with you the propriety of expressing the principle of communal representation, but I do most heartily welcome the note of confidence and hope which is struck by your Address. Your aspirations have been very fully recognised in the recent enlargement of the Councils. Your community has received special treatment and I am glad to hear that you appreciate the obligations which those privileges carry. I trust that it will ever be your aim while promoting the interests of your own community to avoid anything which may tend to emphasise those sectarian differences which must exist but need not be accentuated. I shall always be ready to lend a sympathetic ear to any expression of Mahomedan views and



## THE BOMBAY MOSLEM LEAGUE

feelings, but you must remember that a spirit of self-restraint will add greatly to your influence, and that special privileges to one class are synonymous with corresponding disabilities to others

I have listened with the greatest pleasure to the loyal sentiments which you have expressed in such well chosen language, and I feel confident that His Majesty will be gratified to hear of the feelings of devotion which animate his Moslem subjects For my own part, I thank you for the kindly terms in which you have referred to my appointment It is my fervent hope that my tenure of office may be marked not only by peace without the borders but by concord within

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## THE BOMBAY NATIVE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

a Government have made it possible. Government should clearly do what they can to foster indigenous progress, but I am glad to hear that you recognise that economic regeneration must largely come from within and that Government can do little to help those who are not ready to help themselves.

I gather from another Address which I have received to-day that Government have recently announced a more liberal policy for the extension of feeder railway lines by private enterprise, and I trust that the creation of a new portfolio for Education may, among other advantages, lead to progress in technical education of all kinds. I do not feel competent to express opinions upon the various items of the extensive programme you have laid before me until I have had time to learn something of India, and to consult my colleagues but I feel confident that I should have their hearty concurrence and support in saying that the Government of India have done and will do all that in them lies to secure an alleviation of disabilities under which your fellow-countrymen and our fellow subjects labour in some Colonies. I feel that I have been fortunate in the moment of my arrival upon your shores. The

## THE BOMBAY NATIVE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

*[The Native Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, presented an address and in reply Lord Hardinge said] —*

Mr President and Gentlemen of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau —The very kindly reference you have made to my grandfather's career cannot but strike gratefully upon my ears. But when he set his hand to the work that lay before him he could have hardly foreseen the immense development that the next sixty years held in store and if he was actuated by sentiments similar to those with which I have followed his footsteps to India, he would have been particularly gratified to know of the birth and rapid growth of indigenous enterprise. It is sometimes alleged that the people of this country look too much to Government and too little to themselves for the initiation of improvements and the development of resources, but the figures you have quoted show that this is hardly accurate in the region of commercial enterprise, except in so far as the peace and security afforded by

## THE BOMBAY NATIVE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

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## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

season is prosperous, political asperities are somewhat abated, and all sane men are united in deploring revolutionary crime. No man can foretell the future, but the auguries are propitious. If India will extend to me the same kindly feelings which I have for her, I shall go forward on my way in hope and confidence.

Let me, in conclusion, thank you, heartily, Mr President and gentlemen, for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me and for your good wishes to Lady Hardinge and myself.

## THE BOMBAY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

*[Lord Hardinge received a deputation of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in Government House, when an Address was presented to him]*

*Lord Hardinge, in reply, said] —*

Mr Chairman and Gentlemen of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce —It is a great pleasure to me to receive you here this morning and the Address that you have presented to me while still under the vivid impression created on arriving for the first time in the port of Bombay, the great gate of entry into India, with all its natural beauties and its docks and quays teeming with shipping and active commercial life and enterprise. The impression is one that I shall not easily forget. The complexity of Indian administration is well illustrated by the Address to which I have just listened, and in the few remarks that I shall make it would be presumptuous for me at so early a stage to pretend to any special knowledge or authority. To take at random one of the subjects to which you refer, scarcity of unskilled labour and its dearness, I can fully understand

what serious effect this must have upon the margin of profit of any business enterprise, but if you look at the other side of the shield and consider the steady increase of the cost of living, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that unless there had been some corresponding increase in their wages, the condition of the labouring population must necessarily become pitiable. Your testimony to the general prosperity not only of this city but of India as a whole is, I need hardly say, most welcome to me, and your reference to the ravages of plague gives me the opportunity of congratulating you upon the present diminution of that terrible scourge. May it please God to continue this mercy to your city and to deliver India from so great a tribulation!

I have already said elsewhere that I intend to maintain the policy of Lord Minto's Government, and I anticipate with confidence that the enlargement of the Councils and the increase of their powers will give a clearer voice and greater weight to the views of the various communities of this great country than is furnished by the occasional presentation of a formal Address. In your observations upon the Gold Standard Reserve and railway development



## THE BOMBAY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

you touched upon difficult questions which have formed the subject of much discussion in the past and are likely to engage the anxious consideration of the Government in future. I can assure you that any opinions which the commercial community may feel called upon to express in furtherance of their solution, whether by the voice of their representatives in Council or otherwise, shall receive sympathetic attention. I note your appreciation of the increasing tendency of Government to take you into their confidence in matters affecting your welfare. My own experience in foreign countries has brought me to realise the importance of commerce as affecting political questions. Its problems occupied my attention not only abroad but throughout the period of my service in the Foreign Office, and I always attached to them special importance. You may rest assured of my sympathetic and active support in your commercial and industrial life, and I shall rely at the same time upon your helpful co-operation in all matters affecting the development of trade and the resources of this great Empire.

In conclusion, let me thank you, gentlemen, for your congratulations and for the compli-

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

ment you have paid me I appreciate the trouble that you, busy men as you are, have taken in coming here to present to me this Address, and I thank you warmly for the cordiality of your welcome

## THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION

*[The Chairman and Commissioners of the Calcutta Corporation waited upon the Viceroy on the 26th November, 1910, and presented an Address of Welcome. After offering a most loyal and heartfelt welcome, the Address dwelt on Municipal activity and the development of the City of Calcutta to the foremost rank among the capital cities of the world. The Commissioners were confident that the Reform scheme initiated by Lord Minto would, with His Excellency's fostering care, in time become an indissoluble bond of mutual trust and equality between the rulers and the ruled.]*

*H E the Viceroy, in reply, said] —*

I thank you very sincerely for the cordial welcome that you have so kindly extended to Lady Hardinge and myself on behalf of the citizens of this Capital, amongst whom we look forward with pleasure to the prospects of residing. I feel confident that Lady Hardinge will win her own way to the hearts of your wives and daughters, and it is my hope that, in doing my duty according to my lights in the responsible office to which I have been called,

I may be able to retain those friendly feelings towards me with which your Address is inspired. I have always taken pride in my hereditary connection with India, but I should have been less than human had I not been deeply stirred by the kindly reference to my grandfather's services which had so constantly been made since I landed on your shores, and I pray that I may be given strength, courage and wisdom to hand on untarnished the name he left behind.

I have seen something of your busy streets, I have heard of your great industries and teeming population, and I can conceive no more searching test of the efficiency of local self government than the administration of this vast and ever increasing city. You would not thank me for flattering words spoken without knowledge, but it is no small task that you have in hand, and if you are able to bring to it a high ideal and single minded devotion to the welfare of the community you represent, allowing no selfish motive ever to influence your actions then, indeed, you are fulfilling a high standard of citizenship. I am glad to hear of the proposed formation of an Improvement Trust for the development of the city, but

## THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION

some years must necessarily elapse before its operation can show any tangible results. Let us hope that they may eventually lead to the planning and reconstruction of a town with noble thoroughfares and breathing spaces, where even the poorest shall be housed in decent and sanitary conditions.

I ardently share your desire for a period of greater security and tranquillity and have the utmost confidence in the happy results to be derived from the scheme of Reforms recently initiated by my predecessor. That there should be no disagreement in our Councils is not to be expected, and hardly to be desired. But the more ample powers with which the recent Reforms have endowed them should tend to increase their sense of responsibility, and I believe that with full and free discussion, and with the display of a reasonable and conciliatory spirit, we shall be enabled to happily co-operate for India's good. I hope that when His Majesty comes to India, a year hence, he will be able to spare time to visit this Capital, and that we may be able to show to our Emperor a peaceful, prosperous and united India, while I know that India will be stirred to the depths of her heart, and nowhere more than in

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.

Calcutta, with a sense of intense and loyal devotion to his Throne and person.

I am very glad, gentlemen, to have had this opportunity of meeting you and of making your acquaintance, and I thank you very heartily for the kindness of your words of welcome to Lady Hardinge and myself. I thank you most warmly for the beautiful casket in which the Address has been enclosed.

## THE TALUQDARS OF OUDH

*[The following is the Viceroy's reply to the Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh] —*

I do not propose today to do more than thank you very heartily for Lady Hardinge as well as myself for the very kind terms which you have expressed in your welcome to us. It is your practice thus to come forward as each succeeding Viceroy takes up his honourable task, and your custom is a pleasant and friendly one, for you represent the great landholders and the most influential class in a very important part of India. It rejoices me, therefore, to receive your assurance of support and co-operation, and you may rest in confidence that your rights and privileges will always be regarded by me with the respect to which they are entitled.

You, as great landholders, have cares and responsibilities of your own, and I feel sure that as you recognise the blessings you enjoy and the recognition which Government have always accorded to your position in the past, so you will extend to your subordinate proprietors and

occupants a similar measure of sympathetic consideration.

I am glad, gentlemen, to have had this opportunity of making your acquaintance. I hope that it may become closer and ripen into friendship, and that I may have opportunities in the future of seeing you in your own country and on your own estates. In expressing my warm appreciation of your kindly reference to my grandfather, I desire to thank you, gentlemen once more for your hearty welcome.



## THE IMPERIAL LEAGUE

[H E the Viceroy received a deputation on behalf of the Imperial League on 2nd December, 1910  
H H the Maharajah of Burdwan read the Address of Welcome

*His Excellency, in reply, said] —*

MAHARAJAH AND GENTLEMEN OF THE IMPERIAL LEAGUE —Yours is an Association that has only recently come into existence, and the occasion of your birth was to be found at a moment of dangerous unrest. You are young as a Society, but I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting you and of telling you how much importance attaches, in my opinion, to that spirit which has inspired so large a number of gentlemen of influence and position to band themselves together in times of trouble and declare themselves openly on the side of Government. I do not know how far you have been able to accomplish anything in the short time—less than year, I believe—since you were organised, but I feel confident that you will not confine your efforts to presenting Addresses to arriving and departing Viceroys, and I recognise that much of your power for good must lie in

the influence you are able to bring to bear, each in your own circle. The influence so exercised has a value which it is difficult to appraise too highly. Thanks to the sagacity and firmness of my predecessor, the outlook is much happier now than in the troubled times which brought your League into existence, and there is every reason to expect that it will continue to improve, and while Government must steadily and firmly take the necessary measures for the maintenance of peace and internal order and for the protection of the great loyal majority, they will count upon the members of your Society, and upon all those who entertain similar loyal sentiments, to let the world know that they take their stand on the side of law and order and thus strengthen the hands of those in authority.

I thank you warmly, gentlemen, for your kindly reference to my grandfather. I appreciate highly the sentiments of loyalty to which you have given expression, and I am grateful to you for the trouble you have taken in coming here to day and the kindness of the welcome you have extended to me. At the same time, I wish to thank you very warmly for the beautiful casket in which you have enclosed the address which you have presented to me.

## THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

*[His Excellency received the same day an Address from the British Indian Association, to which he made the following reply]:—*

MAHARAJAH AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION:—Your kindly remarks upon my past career are couched in somewhat flattering terms, but it is true enough that in its course I have become acquainted with many countries and different nationalities, and though my home is in the West, I am not altogether a stranger to the East. India is not among the countries I have visited in the past, but you are by no means the first who have reminded me of my old family connection with her, and you will hardly be surprised when I tell you that the tradition handed down from father to son has secured a warm corner in my heart for your country. Almost as far back as I can remember, my grandfather had something to do with the sowing of those first seeds of education which, as days go on, yield an ever-increasing harvest and have been so potent a

factor in the development of modern India, and I value highly your appreciative reference to his services, but neither he nor any of his successors could have secured real and permanent progress for India without the hearty co-operation of a loyal body of Government servants in this country, and it has given me a special pleasure to notice that you do not overlook the labours of those who have borne the burden and heat of the day through so many generations. You may rest assured that so long as I have the honour to hold my present high office it will be my constant endeavour to maintain and perpetuate the highest traditions of British Rule in India.

You have quoted a speech I made in England, and I do not propose to repeat it to-day, but I will tell you that I shall always be ready to listen to representations that you, or any other responsible body, may desire to make to Government, and to give your suggestions my very attentive consideration. The occasions on which I was called up to be in attendance upon His late Majesty placed me in a position to know the keen and affectionate interest he always took in all that concerned the welfare of India and her people, and you may rest

## THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

assured that our present Emperor has inherited the same feelings. It has been my privilege to learn from His Majesty's own lips how near India is to his heart, and he has given incontrovertible testimony of his sentiments towards her by his announced determination to come and see you in person at no distant date.

Gentlemen, I gratefully accept your assurances of loyalty to his person and throne, and of your support to myself and my colleagues, and I thank you for the welcome you have given me to your city. At the same time, I wish to thank you for the very beautiful casket in which your Address is enclosed.

## THE BENGAL LANDHOLDERS.

*[On the 16th December, 1910, H. E. the Viceroy received in Calcutta a deputation from the Bengal Landholders' Association.*

*In reply His Excellency said]:—*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BENGAL LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION,—It is only a few days ago that I replied to an Address from the British Indian Association, and I am not perfectly clear how you are differentiated from that Society, unless it be that you number within your ranks a larger proportion of Zemindars from Eastern Bengal. In any case it is a pleasure to me to receive you here to-day, and I thank you warmly for your Address. I notice with appreciation that in the Address which you have presented you have not attempted to elicit my opinion upon any contentious questions. Your friendly reference to the work that my grandfather did in India calls attention to the increasing rapidity with which this country is moving forward to take her place alongside other great progressive countries of the world. But when you contemplate its enormous area, its vast population and its divergent conditions, when

## THE BENGAL LANDHOLDERS

you remember the contrasts between helpless ignorance and extreme intellectual activity, when you take into consideration the strong, and, I fear, sometimes antagonistic religious feelings to be found within your borders, you will readily admit that the problem of Indian administration is one of no ordinary complexity. I am, however, surrounded by wise counsellors, both European and Indian, and I can count upon the co-operation of able administrators and loyal services, and I can promise that no effort will be spared on my own part to fulfil the great trust that has been laid upon me. And I feel confident that with your help, gentlemen, and that of others of your class all over India, and with the greater wisdom we may obtain from our larger Councils, we may look forward to an era of progress and prosperity, and it is my most earnest hope that it may also be a period of peace and happiness.

I thank you heartily for the welcome you have given me, and for the kind thought that inspired you to associate with mine the name of Lady Hardinge. At the same time I wish to thank you all for the beautiful casket in which your Address is enclosed.

## THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION DEPUTATION

*[A deputation of the Commissioners of the Calcutta Corporation waited on Lord Hardinge, to whom His Excellency made the following reply] .—*

MR CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—It is only a few days ago that I had the pleasure of receiving an Address of Welcome from the Corporation of Calcutta, and I did not then anticipate that I should so soon receive a deputation from the same body of a more business-like character. When I noticed in the papers the other day that a discussion had been raised in the Corporation in regard to the place where His Majesty should hold his Durbar when he comes to India in 1912, I could not help feeling some regret. If I had been aware beforehand that such a discussion was likely to arise, I would have endeavoured to make known to those interested what I am now about to say. The question is clearly one for His Majesty's own decision, and the communications which I have received show that he has already decided in favour of Delhi. I do not think that any advantage will accrue from discussing with you



explained to you, and while I cannot hold out to you any hope that I will advise His Majesty to reconsider the position, I feel confident that he will be pleased to hear of your loyal and hearty wishes in the matter, and I trust that you will in some degree be reconciled to this unfavourable reply by the possibility of Their Majesties spending some days in Calcutta after the Durbar and before their return to England, which, although I am not authorized to say so at present, I have every reason to believe to be Their Majesties' intention. It appears to me hardly necessary to point out that spontaneous action on their part in visiting Calcutta will be a far greater compliment to this great city on the part of Their Majesties than an official visit required merely for the holding of a Coronation Durbar.

I thank you for the courteous tone of your representations and for the loyal spirit with which they are inspired.

## THE BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER.

*[Lord Hardings received an Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce on the 28th December, 1910.*

*In reply His Excellency said].—*

GENTLEMEN OF THE BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:—It has given me very great pleasure to receive you here to-day and to listen to the cordial Address which you have presented to me. The happy language in which you have referred to His Majesty's approaching visit to this country only helps to strengthen the conviction that I have entertained, ever since His Majesty first told me of his earnest desire to come back to India, that his presence among us will serve to prove the depth and the strength of that strong current of loyalty, and, I think I may safely add, affection, for his throne and person, which flows steadily on, though sometimes lost sight of in the turmoil and rival interest of political unrest.

I thank you for the kind words you have used about my grandfather. You have rightly observed that the Reforms initiated by my

predecessor are in a sense a continuation of my grandfather's policy, and while I pretend to no greater wisdom than them or than the many Viceroys who have taken their part in preparing the way for the great forward step which has recently been taken in the history of British India, I assure you that I realise very fully that that step is, and should be, a real one, and I have very great confidence that our enlarged and more responsible Councils will, by the wisdom and dignity of their proceedings, show that it has been a right one.

I can speak more frankly to you, gentlemen, because I feel that you represent some of the most substantial interest of the community and the most sober sense of this ancient Presidency. I say this in no spirit of idle flattery, and I think that my words are justified by a reference to your Chairman's speech of two years ago, when same opinions were not so frequently to be met with, at any rate in public, as they are. I am thankful to believe, at the present moment. You are constantly consulted by Government on questions affecting not only the commercial community, but also the general welfare of the people. You have given useful and valuable advice, you have shown

a spirit of loyalty, and your influence has always been on the side of Law and order. I believe that you maintain cordial relations with your friends of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and I am told that you strive to maintain a high standard of business integrity. So I repeat with all sincerity that I am glad to have had this opportunity of meeting you, and I thank you very warmly for the friendly terms of your Address, for the heartiness of your welcome, and for the good wishes which you have expressed as well for me as for Lady Hardinge and my family. I thank you at the same time for the beautiful casket in which your Address is enclosed.

## THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

*[The Viceregal Legislative Council met in Calcutta at 11 a m on Tuesday the 3rd January, 1911, sixty-one Members being present including His Honour The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal*

*H E the Viceroy rose and said] —*

Your Honour and Gentlemen,—As this is the first time that I am called upon to preside over this Council, I should like to say how much I appreciate the honour, and how deeply I feel the heavy responsibility that it entails. It is to me a source of sincere satisfaction that I have been called upon to preside over a reformed Legislative Council, of which the merit is, I believe, largely due to the wisdom of my predecessor, Lord Minto. The extension of the elective system, the increase of the number of our Members and the enlargement of our powers lend weight and interest to our deliberations, upon the results of which depend the welfare and happiness of so many millions of our fellow-subjects. It is the duty of this Council to discuss subjects that are generally complex and sometimes even contentious. It

would be neither natural nor desirable that such discussions should provoke no disagreement among us. But I hope and believe that that frank expression of opinion will assist us to understand each other and to appreciate one another's point of view. At the same time, I trust that our deliberations may be animated by a spirit of mutual concession, and I rely upon you, gentlemen, with confidence, to assist me in maintaining that high standard of dignity and courtesy that has hitherto characterised the proceedings of this Council, and that are worthy of the highest traditions of this assembly.

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DEPUTATION.

*[H. E. Lord Hardinge received in Calcutta a deputation from the Indian National Congress on the 3rd January 1911 and made the following reply]:—*

I have received with satisfaction the expression of deep and heartfelt loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor on the part of your deputation from the Indian National Congress, and the assurance of your earnest desire to co-operate with the Government in promoting the welfare of the country. To any student of the history of this country during the past 100 years it must be clearly evident that it has been the aim of England to promote the material welfare and happiness of the Indian people; and the prosperity and progress that are visible on all sides are indisputable proofs that that policy has been attended by a considerable measure of success. To the material advancement of the Indian people has now been added a large measure of political concession in the expansion of the Legislative Councils on a wider representative

basis, and in the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of Local Governments as also of the Council of the Secretary of State, thus giving them a larger share in the management of public affairs. These reforms are still in their infancy and require careful consolidation. It will be my constant endeavour to maintain a jealous watch over them and to see that the object for which they were instituted is attained

In the body of your Address you refer to various broad questions affecting the welfare of the masses, which I can assure you the Government of India have entirely at heart. The realisation of some of these proposals would entail a very considerable increase to the normal expenditure of the Government and would in all probability require new sources of revenue to meet it. The educational problem is one, however, that the Government of India have taken in hand. The creation of a separate Department to deal with education may be regarded as an earnest of the fulfilment of their intentions.

I notice that a large number of those present here to-day are Members of my Legislative



## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Council, through whose intermediary these and other questions, such as those enumerated by the Congress, can be brought in due course before the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils, and I am confident that in each case they will receive the most careful consideration, the aim of the Government of India being to promote the material welfare and moral development of the Indian people and to mete out even handed justice to all races, classes and creeds

I am pleased to see your President, Sir William Wedderburn, whose efforts to conciliate the existing differences between Hindus and Mussalmans have my entire sympathy and my best wishes for their complete success

I thank you for the cordial welcome that you have extended to me on assuming the high office that has been confided to me by our King-Emperor, and I warmly reciprocate your desire that my term of office may be marked as a period of peace, progress and prosperity for India. At the same time I wish to thank you for the lovely casket in which your Address is enclosed

## THE SEDITIOUS MEETINGS BILL

*[In winding up the debate on the Seditious Meetings Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 26th March 1911, H. E. Lord Hardinge spoke as follows] —*

It will probably be within the memory of the Hon'ble Members that my predecessor, Lord Minto, in his speech made in Council at Simla in August last, gave as a reason for the temporary re-enactment of the Seditious Meetings Act, for a period of six months only, that he did not wish to commit his successor to a policy of which he had not had sufficient opportunity of judging, and which he might possibly not approve. I feel, therefore, that in view of the fact that I have been brought personally into the discussion of this very important question, that it is incumbent on me on this occasion to say a few words on this subject.

In the first place, let me say that I am grateful to Lord Minto for his consideration in having given me an opportunity to take stock of the whole state of affairs, and to submit

to your consideration a new Act more in accordance with the actual situation and without some of the more stringent provisions of the previous Act. I do not want to discuss the origin of the Act of 1907, except to express my absolute conviction that the Government of India would not have passed a measure of that kind without having duly weighed the heavy responsibility that they incurred, and without the knowledge that the provisions of the ordinary Law were inadequate to meet the very grave and serious situation that had developed in certain Provinces at that time.

That the Act has had a beneficent and a restraining influence is a fact which no amount of argument can disprove, and the material improvement that has taken place in the general internal situation is undoubtedly largely due to the restraining influence of the measure. I am far from ignoring the views and the opinions of the Hon. ble Members who have spoken against the Bill with great moderation and with the dignity that is customary to them. I am confident that their scruples are absolutely conscientious, and that they are just as keen and anxious as the Government of India for the maintenance of order and tranquillity—(applause)—and for the

## THE SEDITIOUS MEETINGS BILL.

dissemination of sentiments of loyalty throughout this great Empire. We differ only as to the best methods of arriving at that result. It is, however, a source of intense satisfaction to me to be able to associate myself with the views of Hon'ble Members as to the improved situation and political temper of which I maintain there can be no doubt whatever. In spite of the recent instances of crime in Calcutta, which all sane men must regard with absolute abhorrence, there has, I am glad to say, been a revulsion of feeling against political violence and crime to which it is so often related. Thoughtful people have realised that with the advent of the Reformed Councils opportunities are presented for the redress of grievances, and for the prosecution of demands by constitutional methods, and that intemperate speeches and writings are not likely to further, but rather to retard, the progress that we all desire. But to accept as a conclusion from this that sedition and political crimes have entirely disappeared would be to live in a fool's paradise and to close one's eyes to the actual facts of the situation. Were the vigilance of Government to be relaxed for one single instant, there is very little doubt that sedition and political crimes

would once more spring into life, and certainly, at least for a time, retard that healthy evolution of political and material progress that it is the duty and desire of Government to promote

The Seditious Meetings Act of 1907, whatever its scope might be, had no terror for the law-abiding citizen. It is an Act which is limited in its operation. It is a purely preventive measure designed to restrict inflammatory oratory on the part of the irresponsible members of the community. It would, I should have thought, have met with the warm approval of all those who wish to see the educated youth of India grow up into useful and law-abiding members of the community, instead of being incited to become professional agitators and possibly political criminals. We have unfortunately in Eastern Bengal a striking example of the development into ordinary criminals of young men of the middle class, who, during the last three or four years, have been engaged in what have been euphemistically called "political dacoities," thus showing the normal deterioration and degradation that has taken place owing to the spread of sedition in illegitimate political agitation. In any case,

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whatever the objections of some Hon'ble Members may be to the Act in question, they should remember that through its agency the youth of India during the last three and a half years have been protected from the evil effects of sedition preached from the platform

It was with the greatest satisfaction that I learned that, amongst others, the student class of Calcutta an intensely human and sympathetic body, since restrictions were placed on seditious writings and speeches, have shaken off their predilections for teachings of that kind, and have diverted their attention to the more wholesome and normal interest of manly games and exercises. This is only one instance out of many, but I would remind Hon ble Members that it is the primary duty of the Government to extend the best protection to all members of the community, and especially to the rising generation, and I may add that no efforts will be spared by Government in so doing

One of my first acts on assuming the reins of office in this country was to consider very carefully this, upon which I have an absolutely open mind, and to invite the opinions of the Local Governments as to whether in their view the Act should be re enacted or whether it should

be allowed to elapse. The complete unanimity of replies received from Local Governments, and the views of several Indians of marked ability and knowledge, impressed upon me the danger to public tranquillity were the Act allowed to lapse, and no other Law to take its place, and the views which I have formed during the few months I have been in this country have convinced me of the absolute necessity of a weapon being in existence to meet special situations, although it need not necessarily be in evidence. With this view my Government entirely concurred. No self-respecting Government, with a knowledge of the situation which occurred in 1907, would expose itself to the risk of allowing a similar situation to occur without having the means at hand to meet it, nor would it willingly surrender a weapon which has already proved its usefulness as a preventive and a restraining force.

It is not to anybody's interest, except, perhaps, that of the criminal class, that the Law should be weighed in the balance and found wanting. The new Act that is before you, as you are aware, is intended to be of a permanent character, and with that object in view the clauses to which special objections have been taken in the past

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have either been modified or expunged. It is with regret that I have not been able to accept the suggestion of a timely Act, but I cannot help feeling that the renewal of the agitation on this subject is very detrimental to the best interests of the State. The new Act, as it stands, is the very minimum required to make it effective, but should it be found in practice that it is wanting in the required form, then a Regulation will become necessary to give it that form. It is, however, my earnest hope and desire that the new Act may never be put to the test, and that before very long it may come to be regarded as an obsolete measure on the Statute Book.

The present Act was, as Hon'ble Members are well aware, extended by my predecessor's Government to the whole of India. Now in order to show my trust and confidence in the people of India, I do not intend that the new Act, when passed, shall be extended to any part of India—(applause)—unless the necessity arises—a contingency which I trust may never occur. It depends, therefore, on the people of India as to whether the new Act is to be and remain a dead letter or not. In the meantime, I abjure Hon'ble Members of my Legislative Council to rally to the side of Government in



## THE BUDGET DEBATE OF 1911

[*The following is H E the Viceroy's closing speech on the Budget Debate in the Imperial Legislative Council held in Calcutta on the 27th March 1911*] —

With the close of this discussion we come to a fitting termination of what has been a busy and a useful session. The debate on the Budget, both at this stage and when the figures were under detailed scrutiny three weeks ago, have been practical and suggestive, and my Government are indebted to a number of Hon'ble Members for advice and criticism of much value, which, even where we cannot act upon them at the moment, will receive our careful consideration. Into the details of the financial arrangements, embodied in the Budget, it would be superfluous for me to enter. I gather that they meet with the general approval of the Council, and I can only add the hope that the beginning year will fulfil our expectations, that prosperity will grow, that there will be a good monsoon and that India will be spared the too oft recurring sadness of pestilence and famine.

## THE BUDGET DEBATE OF 1911.

difficulties that the future has in store for us. But they warn us of the need for caution in our financial methods, and sobriety in our public expenditure. In most of the recent criticism on our financial position, I have been struck by a certain note of importance. In the business world our trade is described as moving more slowly than it should, our industries are not expanding rapidly enough, and our organisation of capital in India is needlessly backward. In this Council the same note has been sounded. There seemed to be a feeling that we are old-fashioned in our ideas about debt, that we make too much, perhaps, of our opium losses, and we are urged to spend more rapidly on education, to give more abundantly to the Provinces and so forth. In all this there is much with which I can sympathise. The progress of a country must rest on a solid basis of national credit, and we could not do a greater disservice to the advance of India in education or industry, or social well-being, than by doing anything which would weaken our credit or shake public confidence in our financial methods or embarrass our solvency in the future. From this point of view I think that our conservatism is fully justified. I do not think it is overdone. Our normal

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through in safety, our watchwords must be caution and economy. Caution we have shown, and I trust we shall continue to show it. Economy is ever present to my mind, and I cordially endorse the undertaking that has been given by my Government to examine the whole question of our departmental expenditure, both civil and military, with a view to restricting its growth as well as to actual reductions wherever practicable. Retrenchment is not always an agreeable task, and it is difficult to reconcile with some of our ideals of administration. But in the present circumstances of India, public economy is the clearest of necessities, and I am confident that its fruits will justify the sacrifices that it may entail on this subject.

I have only a few more words to say. They relate to the permanent financial settlements which, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, we have now concluded with the Provinces. The measure has attracted a certain amount of natural and very temperate criticism, although I gather that most of the Provinces recognise the substantial liberality which animated it. I wish, however, to put the matter to the Council in the light of what I have just been saying. Caution and economy

are necessary in Imperial finance. They are equally imperative in the management of that portion of the public funds which is under provincial control, but how the Provinces are to help us effectively in the careful administration of our finances I cannot see, unless their share of responsibility is definitely and permanently fixed. I regret that some of the Provinces should find the arrangement less favourable to them than they had hoped. I doubt if complete equality of treatment would ever be attainable, and I can only give the assurance that my Government have done their best to remove all substantial grievances. Besides being an essential step towards the greater stability of Indian finance, the Permanent Settlements confer a large measure of true decentralisation, and I feel sure that I may now call on the Provinces as our partners in the work of good government to co-operate with us in that economy, without which true efficiency is impossible.

Although it cannot be said that the matter to which I now wish to refer is dependent on the Budget at present under discussion, I would like to touch on the subject of the accommodation provided for the Supreme Legislative

## THE BUDGET DEBATE OF 1911

Council, upon which a question was put some time ago by an Hon'ble Member. It has always appeared to me that the accommodation provided for this Council is entirely inadequate, and that it should be on a much more important and dignified scale. I sympathise entirely with the desire of the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha that a properly equipped Library attached to the Council Chamber should be furnished to Hon'ble Members, where they could have access to books of utility in debate, and that there should also be Committee-rooms, where groups could meet and confer with each other, which would be very difficult to do here. Further, it seems to me utterly impracticable and absurd that during the session of the Council the work of the Government of India should be practically at a standstill, and paralysed by the fact that the Secretaries of the Government have to be present in Council even when the affairs of their own Department are not under discussion. This defect could easily be remedied, if in another Council building each Secretary were provided with a small room where he could, when not required in the Council Chamber, continue to transact the business of his Department, and yet be available at a moment's

notice for his duty as a Member of the Legislative Council. I do not dilate upon the discomfort of this Council Chamber, especially during some days of this month when the temperature was exceptionally high. I think we have all borne our burden and the heat of the day with fortitude and resignation. But I do not know whether these will be constant qualities in the future. I greatly regret that the limitations of Government House prevent me from offering better accommodation to the Council. But although Government House is a very fine and stately building, I had, during the visit of the German Crown Prince, to lodge many of his suite in tents, and when Their Majesties do me the honour of coming to Government House next winter, I shall have to put the overflow under canvas in the garden and possibly on the maidan. I think, therefore, that Members of Council should consider whether the time has not arrived to discuss the question of finding a suitable site and of building a new Council Hall more in accordance with the needs and dignity of the Supreme Legislative Council. To do so will, of course, cost money, and it is with some hesitation that I make this suggestion with the watchful eye

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of the Cerberus of the Finance Department upon me, and with the prediction ringing in my ears of a shrinking revenue in the future. I feel, however, that it is not merely a question of comfort but of efficiency that is at stake, and if such views as I have just outlined meet with the approval of Hon ble Members, I hope that at the next meeting of the Council they will favour the Government and Council with an expression of their opinions. In the meantime I hope that it is not necessary for me to say that so long as I live in Government House, I shall always esteem it a great honour for my Legislative Council to meet under my roof.

There is one other subject upon which I should like to say a few words before Hon ble Members leave Calcutta. The King Emperor proposes, as you are all aware, to hold a great Durbar at Delhi in December next, and it has been a great pleasure to listen to the words said here by Hon ble Members to day. A wave, I might say, a tidal wave of enthusiasm has swept the country from end to end on the receipt of the news in India, and I can picture to myself the striking warmth and cordiality of the reception that the King Emperor and

the Queen will receive from all classes on their arrival in this country, and I may add that it is the desire of our King-Emperor to see as many as possible of His Majesty's Indian subjects. With this object in view, arrangements are being made at Delhi, so that opportunities may be given to all to see Their Majesties. It will, I think, be no information on my part to state that, according to present arrangements, Their Majesties hope to arrive at Bombay on the 2nd December, and in Delhi on the 7th December, when the State Entry will be made. Owing to the lack of space at the Railway Station, those taking part in the reception there will necessarily be few in number, but it is proposed that Their Majesties shall be received by the representatives of British India at a position to be selected on the ridge of Delhi, where ample space will be secured. I am leaving to-morrow for Delhi on purpose to supervise these arrangements and to select a suitable spot. The date of the actual Darbar has been fixed for the 12th December, and every preparation is being made for a Coronation ceremony worthy of our King-Emperor, and in accordance with the dignity of the Sovereign of this great Empire. I may



## THE BUDGET DEBATE OF 1911

mention that I am endeavouring to arrange that the actual crowning ceremony may be witnessed by about 100,000 of our fellow-subjects, of whom the vast majority will be Indians. Amongst other incidents of interest that will take place will be a Review of Troops, a Reception by His Majesty of Indian Officers, of British and Indian Regiments and a Fete for the people, who will also be given an opportunity of seeing their Emperor and King. I am in hope that Their Majesties will arrive in Calcutta before the New Year—on the 30th December. I have ventured to detain you longer than I intended, as I wished to take the Members of my Council into my confidence, and to give you some idea of the preparations now being made to afford Their Majesties a fitting welcome on the great and auspicious occasion that lies before us.

I should like to add one word of thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoi for his sympathetic reference to the accident and illness of Lord Crewe. From information I have received, his illness was a result of overwork due to the conscientious manner in which he threw himself into the work of the India Office, of which no detail was too trivial to engage his serious

attention I share the hopes of the Hon'ble Member, and of all here that this distinguished liberal minded statesman, who is one of my oldest and best friends, may soon be restored to health and to his duties at the India Office

In conclusion, I thank you all for your valuable co operation in the Legislative work of this session, and I now declare the Council adjourned *sine die*

## THE LAHORE MUNICIPALITY

*[H E the Viceroy received an address of welcome from the Lahore Municipality and the following is the text of His Excellency's reply] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF LAHORE —I am to have other opportunities of speaking while I am in your city, but it has given me particular pleasure to receive this Address from you who represent the Capital of the Province, and not any particular section but all classes of the community The connection of my grandfather with your city, of which he bore the name, gives it a particular interest for me, and it is natural that I should have included it in the first tour I have made since my arrival in India Since those days you have made, and are making, wonderful progress Each new step forward in the progress of civilisation opens out new vistas of knowledge, and there is no subject in the world about which opinions differ so completely and ideas undergo such continual change as that of the importance of education There is no room for any doubt, and my Government will do all they

can to foster its development and ensure growth along healthy lines

Of the amenities and beauties of your city I have seen something, and I hope to see more. You will not expect me to deal with your problems of drainage and water supply, and your Lieutenant Governor would not thank me were I to make any promises on behalf of the Punjab Government, but I feel confident that any proposal you may submit to him will receive his close and sympathetic attention.

I must congratulate the Punjab upon the hearty response it has made to the appeal for funds fitly to commemorate our late King-Emperor. It was my happy lot to be from time to time close to His Majesty's person and to learn something of that kindness of heart which turned his thoughts so constantly towards the alleviation of human suffering. I feel confident that you could have selected no memorial which would have pleased him more, and I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the medical improvements which it will secure for your city.

The day is not far distant when we shall welcome among us his son and successor. His Majesty King George is almost on the thresh-

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hold of his reign, and a universal prayer will go up in many tongues that he may live long to rule our destinies in peace and happiness

I have been deeply touched by the enthusiastic reception that I have met with at the Convocation from the University students of Lahore, which I understand is partly due to the interest that I am taking in the lot of their fellow-students in Calcutta. I never intended that the visit I paid one morning to several students' messes should be known to the public any more than it was known at the time to the students themselves, but I wanted to see with my own eyes and to verify personally what I had heard as to the unsatisfactory conditions under which they live, of which I obtained on that occasion ample ocular proof. I am glad to say that the Government have since been able to allocate Rs 12 lakhs or Rs 13 lakhs to providing new hostel accommodation in Calcutta and the mofussil. But much more is still needed to provide an adequate number of hostels for the thousands of students in Calcutta. The past has had its triumphs, the present may have its successes, but it is on the horizon of the future that our watchful eyes should be fixed, and it is for that reason that the

future needs of the students and youths of this country will always receive from me sympathetic consideration and attention.

Lady Hardinge joins me in thanking you heartily, gentlemen, for your kindly welcome and for your Address, as well as for the beautiful casket in which it is enclosed.

## THE PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE

*[H E the Viceroy received an address of Welcome from the Punjab Muslim League, Lahore and made the following reply] —*

Gentlemen of the Punjab Muslim League — I thank you very heartily for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me on the occasion of this my first visit to Lahore. It is my business to treat the different Provinces of India with the strictest impartiality. But I do not think anyone will blame me if I confess to a special attraction to the Punjab which occupied so much of the energy of my grandfather during his Indian career, and of which the history has been familiar to me since my earliest childhood. Out of those sanguinary struggles into which he was plunged much against his will was born this fair addition to the sisterhood of Indian Provinces, and he would have rejoiced if he could have foreseen how big a future lay before a land so torn at that time by dissension and strife.

I cannot attempt to cover the vast progress in every direction that has taken place since

those days, but I propose to say a few words on the subject of education. When the British administration first began there were Arabic and Sanskrit and Gurmukhi schools of a religious character, but the most genuine educational institutions in the country were the Persian schools where the teachers were almost exclusively Mahomedans, but the pupils included more Hindus than Mahomedans. These schools formed the foundation of the Government vernacular school system. The Department of Public Instruction in the Punjab was organised in 1806, and there were at that time 34 schools maintained from public funds, besides a dozen Mission schools. You have now 4,351 public institutions, including 17 Colleges, besides 2,882 private institutions, and your scholars number nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. This is an advance of which there is no cause to be ashamed, but the goal is still distant when every boy and girl and every young man and maiden shall have an education in what is best calculated to qualify them for their own part in life and for the good of the community as a whole. That is an ideal we must all put before us, but we shall have to struggle amidst disappointments. Meantime Govern-



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ment have shown how much importance they attach to this matter by the creation of a special Department of Education and by the apportionment of a special grant of over Rs 90 lakhs for educational purposes in the Budget of this year. The Imperial Legislative Council has displayed keen interest in frequent discussions of the subject and you, Muslims of the Punjab, have shown what you think about education by our corporate action in founding your Islamia College and its linked schools, to which I wish all success, and by your spirited response to the appeal for a Muslim University so recently carried through the length and breadth of India under the brilliant leadership of H H the Aga Khan.

I have listened with pleasure to your appreciation of the schemes of reform so recently introduced, and note your quickness to appreciate the confirmation by my Government in the Legislative Council of the pledges that have been given to you. You may rest assured that pledges once given by the Government will not be broken. Whether or when you may yourselves come forward to say that you no longer require the privilege of separate representation I cannot say, but if such a day comes, it will

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be the evidence of a spirit of mutual toleration and enlightened progress which could not but be a happy augury for the peace and welfare of your motherland At the same time it must be a source of satisfaction to you, as it is to me, to find that Mahomedans have in recent years by their merit and ability secured distinction in the public services

I thank you, Muslims of the Punjab, for the unwavering fidelity which you have always displayed during the restless times of recent years and for that steadfast loyalty to the Throne and person of His Majesty of which you have given so many proofs in the past We shall shortly see our King Emperor face to face, and I am sure that the Mahomedan community will take no backward part in giving him a warm and heartfelt welcome

In conclusion, I thank you cordially for the good wishes that you have expressed for the success of my administration and for the welcome that you have extended to Lady Hardinge and myself, and I thank you for the Address you have presented to me and the handsome casket in which it is enclosed

## THE SIKH COMMUNITY.

*[His Excellency the Viceroy received an address of welcome from the Sikh Community, at Lahore, to which he made the following reply] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SIKH COMMUNITY,—It is a great pleasure to me to receive this Address from you, and I thank you very heartily for your kind words of welcome. You belong to a race whose name stands for the manly virtues of courage and loyalty not only in your home between your five rivers, but throughout the whole civilised world. Of your courage, as you remind me, my grandfather had experience that was not always pleasant, but since 1848 his successors have found it allied to a devoted loyalty which has rung as true as steel, and stood the test of many a hard-fought fight.

If I understand you right, you urge that you should obtain a great proportion of appointments in the civil administration in order that education among you may receive a stimulus. It is true that the Sikhs have not won a large share of posts in the Civil Departments, but this is because until recently you have been

backward in education. You are now making great efforts to make up for lost time, and I am assured by His Honour Sir Louis Dane that when qualified men are available, Government will only be too ready to give them their fair share of appointments. The interest you are taking in female education is a particularly favourable omen of healthy progress. You remark that the chief impetus for the spread of education so far has been Government service, and I fear that there is a good deal of truth in that, but it is not right that it should be so. The object of education should never be limited to so narrow a field. If all the world were Government servants, who would till the fields? And speaking to you who are worthy members of an agricultural community, I would say that the educated agriculturist is probably a better man than the uneducated, and I would draw your attention to the value of an agricultural education and the facilities offered by the great Agricultural College opened less than two years ago at Lyallpur, soon converting arid wastes into a prosperous country site, the opening of Canal Colonies and the liberal policy which Government have pursued in their administration. From this point of view, the Punjab is an

## THE SIKH COMMUNITY.

object-lesson to the whole world of what engineering skill combined with capital can perform, and I am glad to think that such staunch, tried friends as yourselves should have secured so full a share of these benefits

The happy language in which you refer, gentlemen, to the approaching visit of His Most Gracious Majesty adds one more to the innumerable testimonies I have received of the deep feelings of loyalty and devotion with which his decision to come and hold his own Durbar in India is regarded, and I have no doubt as to the cordial welcome awaiting the King-Emperor and the Queen on their arrival

Let me thank you, once more, gentlemen of the Sikh community, for the very kind welcome which you have extended to Lady Hardinge and myself I thank you warmly for your Address, and for the handsome box in which it is enclosed

## THE PUNJAB HINDU SABHA.

*[The following is the text of His Excellency's reply to the Punjab Hindu Sabha's address of welcome] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE PUNJAB HINDU SABHA,  
—Please accept my warmest thanks for the cordial welcome which you have extended to Lady Hardinge and myself on behalf of the Hindu inhabitants of the Punjab, on this occasion of our first visit to your Province. I am sorry to think that there are matters about which you as a community feel aggrieved, and no one can blame you if you put forward your views about them at the proper time. I can assure you that Government will lend a sympathetic ear to what you may have to say, and I can only hope that if you do not get all you want, you will at least give Government credit for attempting to reconcile the conflicting interests in a spirit of fairness and impartiality. But I am very grateful to you for not seizing the present opportunity, and I thank you for the courteous and considerate spirit which has taught you to recognise that the time I have been in India has been too short to permit of my fully grasp-

## THE PUNJAB HINDU SABHA

ing all the bearings of the difficult problems with which the administration of this great country is surrounded. The remark which you have quoted from my speech to the Bombay Muslim League contains an element of truth in relation to politics, which I do not think any one would care to deny, and it is truth which I earnestly hope all will recollect, whether they be Hindu, Mahomedan, Sikh, Parsee, Anglo-Indian, or whatever their race and religion, in the endeavour they should all be making to become better and happier men and better and more useful citizens.

In well-chosen words you have given me another message of loyal devotion and of joyful anticipation to send to the King-Emperor in regard to his approaching visit to your shores, and I well know that India will sink all differences of opinion in uniting to give His Majesty a loyal and hearty welcome.

I thank you again, gentlemen of the Panjab Hindu Sabha, for the kind words with which you have received Lady Hardinge and myself. I thank you again, gentlemen, for your Address and for the handsome casket in which it is enclosed.

## RETIRED INDIAN MILITARY VETERANS.

[The gardens at Government House, Lahore, presented an animated and military appearance, when a large number of retired Native Officers assembled for inspection by His Excellency. Almost every regiment recruited in the Punjab must have had its representatives present, and fine representatives they all were, almost every one of them wearing on his breast the Medals of at least one hard-fought campaign, and many of them having four and five Medals each. Quite a number carried the red and white ribboned Medal, which showed them to be Indian Mutiny Veterans. It was a most picturesque sight as the Viceroy passed down the lines of motley grey-bearded men in their different coloured uniforms, touching the handle of the sword of each and saying a few words to a number of them.]

Afterwards, the men closed up, and His Excellency made a short speech, which was translated into Hindustani. The following is the text of the speech] —

INDIAN OFFICERS,—It gives me great pleasure to see you assembled here from all parts of the Punjab. As I told you in the Durbar yesterday, my grandfather was a soldier, and though I myself am a man of peace, I come



## RETIRED INDIAN MILITARY VETERANS

from a family of soldiers and sailors, and, therefore, apart from my personal regard for distinguished soldiers, I inherit a love for the Army. I need hardly say that the manner in which all creeds and castes have, when required, vied with each other in laying down their lives in the service of their Sovereign, is a source of the greatest satisfaction to the King-Emperor. I wish His Majesty could be here to day to see this fine parade of retired Officers, who show, by the display of the Orders and Medals which they bear, that they have fought gallantly in war and served meritoriously and loyally in peace. I can but hope that your sons and sons' sons will follow in your steps and show that the martial spirit of the Punjab is still alive and at the service of the King-Emperor in peace or war. I thank you all for giving me, a new Viceroy this opportunity of seeing with my eyes those of whom I have always heard and read so much from my earliest childhood, viz, the Sirdars of the splendid Punjab fighting races.

## THE PUNJAB CHIEFS' ASSOCIATION

[*H E The Viceroy was entertained at a garden party by the Punjab Chiefs' Association, Lahore His Excellency made the following acknowledgment*].—

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you very warmly for the Address in which you have just accorded to me so hearty a welcome. You tell me that hereditary associations appeal with special force to Oriental minds but I doubt whether, that is a characteristic peculiar to the East, and speaking for myself I can only say that ever since I first learnt that destiny was to lead my steps to India, I have been looking forward to the time when I should see with my own eyes the scenes among which my grandfather spent some of the most stirring days of his eventful life and make acquaintance with the Province where he exchanged with his brave and gallant foes such hearty buffets and finally made of them such firm friends. England can never forget the help they sent in later days of storm and stress. It is a great pleasure to me to think that amongst you here are descendants of some of the members composing the Lahore

## THE PUNJAB CHIEFS' ASSOCIATION

Durbar of the Sikh Government, and that our relations to day are those of friendship and peace

I value the kindly words in which you refer to my conduct of affairs during the short time I have been in India, and I sincerely trust that when I come to lay down the burden of this great office they may still stand justified. But, as you have truly observed, public spirit and public opinion are rapidly developing, and interests which till now have had no voice are beginning to make themselves felt, and the business of guiding the ship of State becomes each day more difficult. It is no small consolation to think that I can count for understanding and support upon your Association and upon others of the same character throughout India to co operate in the furtherance of the policy of Government. But I take it that your first object as members of the aristocracy of the Punjab is to make yourselves more fit to take your proper places in this strenuous world. In that you have my warmest sympathy and I heartily wish your movement success. You will have difficulties to surmount and prejudices to overcome, but now that you have realised that there is no choice but to march forward in

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

the path of progress, I feel confident that the spirit of your fathers which is in you will help you to overcome all obstacles I think you have done wisely to form this Association and I congratulate you on the selection of so energetic and capable a Secretary as Sirdar Partap Singh I was very happy to listen to the words in which you referred to the approaching Coronation Durbar, and I shall not fail to inform His Most Gracious Majesty of the feelings of profound devotion and loyalty which his approaching visit has called into utterance

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me tell you how much I have enjoyed the opportunity of meeting you in these beautiful gardens, and how greatly I appreciate your kindness in organising this entertainment in my honour I wish to thank you very warmly for the welcome you have extended to Lady Hardinge and for the beautiful casket in which your Address is enclosed

## THE RAJAHS AND CHIEFS OF THE PUNJAB

*[H E The Viceroy received an address of welcome at Lahore from the Rajahs, Chiefs and Sirdars of the Punjab The following is the full text of the speech he made on the occasion] —*

YOUR HIGHNESSES, CHIEFS, SIRDARS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PUNJAB,—As I look round upon this noble gathering, representative of the aristocracy of so many races, my thoughts are irresistibly turned to the history of your Province, and I find its pages red with the blood of myriads of brave men and golden with the glory of great deeds. Many present here to-day must have heard from the lips of your fathers and grandfathers of that great warrior, King Ranjit Singh, the "Lion of the Punjab," with whose memory is so closely associated this Shish Mahal, his reception room, within which we are met together. A born soldier, he remained, while life lasted, true and loyal to his English friends and allies, and it may not be beyond the memory of some of you, Chiefs of the Punjab, that it was that very friendship and loyalty to the English which prevented

him from attacking your ancestors when they came under English protection 100 years ago

If these memories make the hearts of some of you beat faster, you will have some sympathy with me. For, the Punjab has its historical associations, and I, too, have heard from the lips of my father and my uncle of brave deeds and noble deaths. I have just come from visiting those battlefields where such great issues were put to the touch, where my grandfather for the moment merged the Governor-General in the soldier and took his share of danger and hardship on the battlefield with the rest. My grandfather was a soldier by profession, but he came out to India as a man of peace, and I do not believe that any Governor-General, before or since, came out to India with a firmer intention of avoiding war if that could be done with honour. War was thrust upon him whether he liked it or not, and however much he regretted it at the time, I cannot but think his heart would have been glad within him if he could have foreseen that the heat of those conflicts was the furnace in which was welded that strong sentiment of friendship and mutual respect that has ever since been so firm a bond of union between the foes of those days.

## THE RAJAHS AND CHIEFS OF THE PUNJAB

On seeing the sites of those historic struggles, drenched with the blood of Sikh and British soldiers, now green and flourishing with growing crops and thriving villages, I have felt that such a bond of union has been forged between Sikh and British that nothing can loosen or destroy, and that here at least the prophecy has been realised of one of the ancient Hebrew prophets who said —“ They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more ” In later times the Punjab has been a tower of strength to the Empire Your fighting races have filled the ranks of the Army and Your Highnesses now maintain forces of Imperial Service who have fought with distinction shoulder to shoulder with His Majesty's forces in not a few tough campaigns These contributions of Imperial Service Troops and Your Highnesses' well-known loyalty and hatred of sedition are striking evidence of the community and solidarity of your interests with those of the Paramount Power We live now in times of peace, and it is my earnest hope, and it shall be my strong endeavour, that they may long continue

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

It would have rejoiced my grandfather to see this Punjab which he had known in such a welter of bloodshed and disorder become so fair a Province. He would not have disdained the triumphs of peace, indeed he held them at a far higher value than those of war. Education being a matter to which my grandfather paid particular interest during the course of his administration in India, its spread and progress in this Province would have been a joy to him could he have foreseen that Lahore is becoming a vast educational centre with its fine Arts Colleges and its Medical and Veterinary Colleges. It is interesting to note that medical and veterinary education are a specialty in the Punjab, and I hope that the extension of the Medical College and the chief Hospital in Lahore as a memorial to our late and great King Edward will give an additional impetus in this direction.

The commercial and industrial progress of your Province is also truly remarkable. The Punjab has now nearly 300 factories, over 4,000 miles of railway and some 7,000 000 acres of irrigated land, and in the busy brain of your Lieutenant Governor, I have reason to know that there are schemes for extending still fur



## THE RAJAHS AND CHIEFS OF THE PUNJAB

ther these and other material benefits But peace and prosperity have their own dangers and their own battlefields One of them is the ever-persistent fight with disease Irrigation brings in its train the danger of malaria and the mitigation of this evil and the stay of its ravages constitute a problem of which the Government have yet to find a fully satisfactory solution

And to you, Chiefs of the Punjab, I would say one word in conclusion Whatever are the problems and the responsibilities of British India, you have each of you your full share in them The times have changed and are still changing We all live under a glare of criticism which was unknown to our fathers But apart from that the progress of the world demands a higher standard of duty and principle than sufficed for the rough and ready days of old This is not an age when Principalities can be carved out with the sword, or when glory is to be won by holding out against a hostile invader But you live among dangers of a more subtle nature The battle you have to fight is against temptations with all your might You have in trust the well being and happiness of thousands of your subjects Let it be your ideal to

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leave them happier and better and more prosperous than you found them, and let it be your ambition to hand down to posterity a name that shall ever be loved and revered by those that come after I know that I can count upon your loyalty You have given many proofs of it, to some of which I have referred, and I rejoice to think that we shall all, at no distant date, have the opportunity of rendering homage in person to our Sovereign Lord, His Majesty the King-Emperor

## THE QUETTA MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

*[The Quetta Municipality welcomed His Excellency with an address of welcome to which he made the following reply] —*

GENTLEMEN,—I am very grateful for the cordial Address of Welcome that you have presented to me upon my arrival in your city, not only on behalf of your fellow townsmen of Quetta, but on behalf of the many peoples in Baluchistan. It is a great pleasure to me that I have been able, during the first tour I have made in India, to visit your Province—the youngest Province of India that I am called upon to govern. I can truly say that it is a pleasure to which I have greatly looked forward, as this is not by any means the first time that your commercial interests and fortunes have been objects of my solicitude and concern. I may mention that fifteen years ago, when I was in charge of the British Legation in Persia, the opening and development of the Nushki route for trade between Baluchistan and Meshed, which was at that time being built and successfully pushed by Captain Webb

Ware, its first pioneer, was one of the commercial projects that I had most at heart, and the progress that has since been made in the commercial development of that route has been a source of keen satisfaction to me

I am well aware of the pre eminent services to this Province and India as a whole of that great but simple man, Sir Robert Sandeman, whose name will be immortalised in the annals of India as a great administrator and a messenger of peace to a troubled and war-worn people The wonderful progress and material development of Baluchistan with its accompanying civilisation during the period of a little more than thirty years, are monuments to his memory of a far more striking and enduring nature than any that can be built by human hands To those who believe in a future state, it is a pleasant thought that the knowledge of the progress of the country may be his great reward

I agree with your statement that although much has been accomplished, there remains yet much to be done But you may rest assured that during my term of administration in this country I will endeavour to watch over your interests with fostering care and the fact

## THE QUETTA MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

that I hope to have always at my side that very distinguished officer, Colonel Sir Henry MacMahon, who during the period of his office in Quetta has, I believe, won the respect and admiration of all, should be a guarantee that your interests will be neither forgotten nor ignored

As regards the schemes you mention in your Address you have my heartiest wishes for their complete success. I trust that some of them will be initiated as private enterprises and with private capital, and although it is not possible for me to give pledges as to the future, you may rest assured that any scheme in which the co operation of the Government is desired or necessary will receive very careful consideration when put before me

There are two points you mentioned in your Address in connection with the town Police and a Railway extension from Khanai to Hindu Bagh. In reply, I have much pleasure in stating, for your information, that the Government of India have decided to relieve the Municipality of the cost of the Police from the 1st April last and that the importance of connecting Hindu Bagh with the railway station is thoroughly appreciated, and though it is

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impossible to make any definite pronouncement at present as to when it will be possible to undertake this scheme, there is every reason to hope that it may not be unduly delayed

I thank you warmly for your expressions of loyalty and devotion to the person of our Emperor, and I will not fail to transmit them of his loyal subjects of Baluchistan. The fact that our Emperor is coming to India on his own initiative to hold his own Durbar is a convincing proof of the remarkable interest that His Majesty takes in his Empire and the subjects of India. I am confident that His Majesty will receive the most respectful and cordial welcome from all

I share your regrets that I am alone and without the presence of Lady Hardinge, for whom the fatigue of so long a journey is too great after being so short a time in India, but I am grateful to you all for the extreme cordiality of your welcome, and I hope that if time and opportunity permit, she may be able to make good this omission on a future occasion

tinuous peace and tranquillity It is a record of which you, the Chiefs and Headmen of this Province, have just reason to be proud, a record which must be as pleasant for you who have enjoyed the material benefits of it to look back upon as it is pleasant now for me to acknowledge and applaud When I consider that this is a Frontier Province composed of races and clans of a martial and warlike character whose reputation for peace and good order in the past was far from being of the best, I cannot help thinking that the system of administration inaugurated by your first ruler, Sir Robert Sandeman, and carried on by his distinguished successors, is one which suits the needs and requirements both of Government and the Chiefs and people alike If I understand this system aright, it is one which, while enabling you to retain that freedom which is the natural heritage of the dwellers of this country of lofty mountains and highland plateau, confers upon you by the wholesome discipline of your own ancient customs and laws enforced under the firm but benevolent control of your British administrators, all the benefits of peace and order and prosperity Such being the case, I would enjoin you to

trouble you gave to those on your borders that the British Government had to intervene in your country. When I look round at the Quetta of to-day and see the progress which has been made in this Province, when I see peacefully assembled here the men and the sons of the men who so few years ago would have been unable to meet each other except in conflict, I cannot help being impressed with the great changes which have come about in your country, while to me it is a source of deep gratification to think that these beneficent changes are due to the civilising effect of British administration and control. It must be no less a matter of congratulation and thankfulness to yourselves to see the change which has thereby come about in your lives, your security and your prosperity.

It is now nearly five years ago that my predecessor, Lord Minto, visited Quetta, and in reviewing the history of Baluchistan during that period I am rejoiced to find that it has been one of steady advancement in civilisation and material progress, that your reputation for loyalty has been fully maintained, and that these past five years have been characterised throughout by conditions of con-



tinuous peace and tranquillity. It is a record of which you, the Chiefs and Headmen of this Province, have just reason to be proud, a record which must be as pleasant for you who have enjoyed the material benefits of it to look back upon as it is pleasant now for me to acknowledge and applaud. When I consider that this is a Frontier Province composed of races and clans of a martial and warlike character whose reputation for peace and good order in the past was far from being of the best, I cannot help thinking that the system of administration inaugurated by your first ruler, Sir Robert Sandeman, and carried on by his distinguished successors, is one which suits the needs and requirements both of Government and the Chiefs and people alike. If I understand this system aright, it is one which, while enabling you to retain that freedom which is the natural heritage of the dwellers of this country of lofty mountains and highland plateau, confers upon you by the wholesome discipline of your own ancient customs and laws enforced under the firm but benevolent control of your British administrators, all the benefits of peace and order and prosperity. Such being the case, I would enjoin you to

ensure, as far as you yourselves are concerned, that no departures be made from that system, if such can possibly be avoided, except for reasons of the most strong and convincing order

But, Your Highness, Sirdars and Maliks, I owe it to my position as Viceroy not merely to afford myself the pleasure of giving you that meed of praise which the good State of Baluchistan justifies, but to address to you, the Chiefs and representatives of the various clans and races who occupy this country, a few words of advice and admonition regarding your conduct in the future. In the first place, I am glad to be able to congratulate Your Highness the Khan of Kelat on the continued progress in the administration of your *mabats*, under the able and energetic management of your Political Adviser, Khan Bahadur Kazi Jelaluddin Khan, C I E, in whose hands the revenues of these *mabats* have trebled themselves in the last few years. I further congratulate Your Highness on the steady advance in the peace and prosperity of the distant but important district of Mekran, under the management of your Nazim, Nawab Mehrulla. With the increased resources at your disposal, it is my confident hope that

## THE CHIEFS AND SIRDARS OF BALUCHISTAN.

Your Highness will be enabled to take such steps for the improved welfare of your subjects as may be necessary for the fulfilment of that obligation which rests on all Chiefs secured from internal and external danger by British protection to show liberality and enlightenment of administration. It is an obligation which, I feel sure, Your Highness will loyally carry out.

I am glad to see to-day the Jam of Las Bela present and restored to health. I trust that, on his return to his State, he will continue to show that activity in the administration of his State which characterised his rule before ill-health necessitated his taking a temporary rest.

You, Baluch and Brahui Sirdars of the Baluchistan tribes, who, like your fathers before you, have rendered good and loyal services to Government, and who now enjoy a position of considerable privilege in the matter of self government and revenue, I urge you to continue to merit these privileges by abstention from dissension among yourselves and by administering your tribes with justice, impartiality and firmness, according to your ancient laws and customs.

You, Sirdars and Maliks of the administered districts, deserve very great praise for your loyal assistance to Government and for the peace and good order you have maintained of recent years. Such crime as has occurred in your territories has, I understand, been largely the work of bad characters or outlaws who have come from across the border. I am glad to say that the arrangements recently made in concert with His Majesty the Amir are likely to diminish such troubles in the future. You yourselves, however, have important duties to perform in order to assist in preventing them altogether. You desire to manage your own internal affairs according to your own tribal custom as administered by your own Jirghas. I am also desirous of continuing that system, but you cannot always continue to enjoy the privileges of the system without fulfilling its obligations. The most important of these obligations is that of tribal responsibility. I refer especially to the responsibility for arresting offenders or tracking them to the limits of another tribe on whom a similar responsibility thus falls. This rule must be enforced if you wish to retain your privileges, whether the offenders come from across the border or not.

With these few admonitions I again express to you all, Chiefs, Sirdars and Maliks of Baluchistan, my high appreciation of your good services, loyalty and good conduct. I take this opportunity of recording also my appreciation of the able services you have so recently rendered my Government in the Census operations. I learn that on this occasion the Census extended for the first time to the whole of Baluchistan, with the exception of the small area of Kharan. The successful carrying out of these operations over this wide country of 132,000 square miles is a matter which reflects very great credit on all concerned.

Before concluding I would like to say a few words on the general prospects of progress in this country. Much has been done in many ways of late years in the direction of improving the material prosperity of the Province. In this extensive Province of yours, which in area is about one-fourteenth of the Indian dominions, the Census has shown that the population is comparatively very small. This would prove that there is a wide scope for further development of the latent resources of the country, both in order to increase the prosperity of its present population, and to enable the

country to support a much larger population. I know that my officers in Baluchistan are alive to the importance of encouraging the development of local resources, and I am glad to learn that, with this object in view, there are novel irrigation schemes in progress or under consideration for increasing the area of cultivation. It is to the increase of irrigation, the extension of cultivation and the improvement of agricultural methods that your attention should more especially be directed. In this connection I understand that my Government are assisting you to develop the fruit-growing industry which in this favoured climate of Baluchistan should in the near future tend greatly to increase your prosperity. In these and all other matters tending to the welfare and progress of this country, I assure you of my own personal interest and co-operation.

There is one point on which I feel that I owe some reparation. I have taken from you to be my Foreign Secretary a high official who during the past few years has, I know, won your confidence and respect, and, I think I may say, affection. I am sure it is a pleasure to you all to see him here again with me to-day. You will have at least the consolation of knowing that

your best interests will always have a warm advocate at my side in the person of Sir Henry MacMahon

It has given me much pleasure to meet you all here to-day, and the acquaintance now made will, I trust, be further increased and cemented during my term of Viceroyalty. Many of you I hope to meet again shortly at the coming Assembly at Delhi, when, as you know, His Gracious Majesty King George V, Emperor of India, has expressed his intention of holding an Imperial Durbar to make known his Coronation to all his Indian subjects. Baluchistan will, I hope, be adequately represented on that auspicious occasion, and I look forward to the pleasure of seeing you at Delhi.

## THE KARACHI MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

*[His Excellency received on the 12th April 1911 an address from the Karachi Municipal Council in the Station Hall, to which he made the following reply] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE KARACHI MUNICIPALITY,—I thank you heartily for the very kind welcome that you have extended to me. It is undoubtedly a fact that your city, though it holds the important position of one of the principal ports of India, is not altogether conveniently suited from the point of view of a Viceregal visit, and it is precisely the fact that it had not been visited by a Viceroy for so long that made me determine that it should be included in this my first tour. I must confess that the way has been rather long and very hot, but the opportunity I am having of making personal acquaintance with your people and your interests far more than compensate for the trivial discomforts of the journey.

The figures which have been put before me show that the responsibilities of your Municipi-



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pality have grown with the advancing prosperity of your trade and your port Your income and expenditure, like your population, have greatly increased during the past ten years, and I am much pleased to know that you, gentlemen, have equally risen to your responsibilities. I have nothing but praise to bestow upon the improvements you have made and are making in the more crowded quarters of the town, and I congratulate you very heartily upon the success which has attended your heavy expenditure upon drainage and water-supply It is easy enough to realise the necessity for a plentiful supply of good water and for proper drainage, but it is not always so easy to devise sound and economical plans to meet these needs, and you have reason to be proud that you have not only devised them but carried them into effect and are able to say without exaggeration that they have been successful I trust that equally happy results may attend the extensions to the water-supply which you are about to take in hand I congratulate you, too, upon the improvements you have effected in the lighting of the town and upon your successful co-operation with the Port Trust for the diversion of the main branch of the Lyari River

I do not remember to have seen any papers about the removal of the military buildings to which you refer, and I am sure you will recognise that military considerations and military finance cannot be lightly set on one side. But I will undertake to look into the matter and see how it stands. It would be premature to say anything about the disposal of the land unless and until the removal of the buildings is, on general grounds, decided to be desirable.

Education occupies a position of such increasing importance at the present time that it is only right that the capital city of Sind should take a prominent place in connection with it. You have numerous institutions, and I am glad to hear that you are increasing your contributions to them. But whether you can establish a claim to greater assistance from Government I must leave to the ripe judgment of your Commissioner and your Governor.

I am much concerned to hear of your sufferings from plague. Money has in the past been spent like water in attempting to battle with it and men of science are continuously engaged in its study. Though we have learnt a good deal about it, we must sadly confess that we have so far learned a great many things

## THE KARACHI MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

that it is no use doing We have made but few discoveries as to what we ought to do in order to battle successfully with the disease, and inoculation seems to be still the most efficient protection yet devised for each individual

I am glad that the efficiency of your administration has enabled your Government to trust the people of Karachi with wider elective powers, and I understand that your President, though actually nominated by the Commissioner because no one secured two thirds of your votes, is the person who would have been chosen under a system of unrestricted selection

I am grateful, gentlemen, for the expression of confidence in my Government to which you have given expression I thank you once more warmly for your cordial words of welcome, and I thank you for your Address as well as this beautiful work of art in which it is enclosed

## THE KARACHI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

*[The following is the Viceroy's reply to the Address presented by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE KARACHI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE —It is a great pleasure to me to have been able to come and see with my own eyes thus early in my career in India, a city which means so much to the Indian Empire. But a personal knowledge of local surroundings, even though it be a slight one, is worth a great many volumes of notes in dealing with local problems, and it will be a great advantage to me not only to have seen your city and port, but to have met you, gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce, and to have heard from your own lips what you have to say about some of the big questions in which you are interested.

I am afraid you will find that the Government of India cannot always give you what you want, but you may rest assured that we attach very great weight to your views on the various questions that arise concerning the commerce and industry of the country. The growth of

your prosperity and importance is truly amazing, and I see from figures that have been supplied to me that the value of your trade has almost trebled in the last ten years from Rs 14½ crores to nearly Rs 43 crores. A little less than a quarter of this is due to your coasting trade, and another quarter represents your foreign imports, while your foreign exports constitute almost exactly half the total amount, and I have no doubt that the money that has been spent upon irrigation in the Punjab and in Sind is largely responsible for this increase of prosperity. The subject of the great projects for adding to the area of irrigated lands in Sind has for sometime past been engaging the attention of the Government of India. Speaking broadly, the proposal is to divide the Indus in Sind into three reaches with three weirs near Mithankote at Sukher, and probably somewhere near Kotri, with the necessary canals taking out above them. Of these three large systems the central, that at Sukkur, has been held to be the most important, and it has therefore received consideration. An estimate of the barrage across the Indus and for a portion of the Canal work has recently been received from the Government of Bombay and is now under

examination I fully appreciate the importance of these Sind projects. It is most desirable that the Indus River should be so harnessed that full advantage should be taken of the supplies, both to improve the precarious nature of the present inundation canals and in order that fresh areas may be brought under command. But it will be understood that with schemes of such magnitude, involving the expenditure of crores of rupees, it is essential that estimates should receive the most careful consideration, and I can only say at the present time that I hope to be shortly in a position to address the Secretary of State with regard to the first of the Sind projects, that at Sukkur, which has been specially mentioned in your Chamber's Address. A Viceroy has to deal with many questions—some of great complexity and some of world-wide importance. But among them all there are few so fascinating as these great irrigational schemes, and I shall always use my utmost endeavours to push them forward whenever I can.

I am aware, gentlemen, of the very strong views you hold in regard to the extension of the metro-gauge system to Karachi. The question whether the necessity has yet arisen is one

## THE KARACHI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

about which it is possible to say a good deal on both sides. You will not expect me to justify in detail the decision that has been given, but the Government of Bombay, the Railway Board and the Department of Commerce and Industry concurred in it so unanimously that no other answer was possible. It has long been admitted that the brake of gauges ought to be eliminated when the traffic justifies it, and the point you have taken about the reservation of an appropriate site for a metre gauge terminus is deserving of close consideration. I understand that you have made a representation about it to the Bombay Government and I will take an early opportunity of informing myself as to how the matter stands.

It is impossible to say at present whether, or when, the proposed Trans Persian line will become a realisable project. The present situation in the south of Persia is not one which offers much encouragement to capitalists to finance such schemes. But the question of the construction of this line has been under the serious consideration of the Government of India, and the claims of Karachi as a terminus of a line passing through Southern Baluchistan have not been lost sight of.

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

I understand that your Address was drafted before the 17th March, when the question of light-houses was dealt with in the Legislative Council of Bombay. From the answer there given you will have learnt that other reasons than the absence of lights have existed to account for some of the wrecks to which you refer, and that H. E. the Naval Commander-in-Chief has gone so far as to say that a light-house at the Hajamras mouth would be a mistake. It would be difficult, in the face of so high an authority, for the Government of India to approve of this scheme. But I understand that the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry, who has recently been among you, discussed the question with you in some detail, and I should prefer not to commit myself about it until I have learnt the upshot of those discussions, and until I have had an opportunity of considering the Report on the subject now on its way from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India.

You have referred to the question of the retention of a substantial portion of the Gold Standard Reserve in gold in India. It is a complicated matter of great importance, and I have to thank you for bringing the subject to



my notice I find that it has been the subject of anxious consideration more than once between the Government of India and the Secretary of State, without whose concurrence it would be obviously impossible to make any change in the existing arrangements. But I shall be glad to convey the opinion to which you have just given expression to Lord Morley.

The disposition and capacity of your Government buildings is a matter in which you naturally take a very special interest, but it is not one in which the Government of India can help you much, except by sympathetic consideration of any schemes which may require their sanction. The Government of Bombay are primarily concerned and I understand that orders have actually been given for the preparation of plans and estimates for some part of the scheme, and I feel assured that that capable Government will do whatever may be right and possible for the removal of the inconvenience of which you complain.

I will not detain you longer, gentlemen, except to thank you heartily for the welcome which you have extended to me, for the Address you have presented and for the handsome cabinet in which you have placed it.

## THE KARACHI MAHOMEDAN COMMUNITY

*[The Mahomedan community of Karachi presented an address of welcome to Lord Hardinge who made the following reply] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE MAHOMEDAN COMMUNITY OF SIND —I offer you my grateful thanks for the Address of Welcome which you have just presented to me, and if it is a source of gratification to you that I should have taken so early an opportunity of visiting your Province, I can assure you it is no less a pleasure than a profit to me to see with my own eyes something of every portion of this vast Empire, and to make personal acquaintance with the different communities who have for the time being been entrusted to my charge

Though a formal interchange of speeches such as this cannot afford so intimate a mutual acquaintance as is to be desired, I am glad of the opportunity that it affords to you of setting before me the needs and aspirations of your community to which I am ready to lend a sympathetic ear. It is in my brief experience of India a surprise to me what a horizon is

occupied by the aspiration after better education. It has forced itself into prominence alike in the Council Chamber at Calcutta and in the Addresses I have lately received in the Punjab. It figures largely in the daily Press, and here I find it again in the Address which you have just presented to me. I cannot regard it as anything but a healthy sign, for it means that all sections of the community are alive to the necessity of keeping abreast of the times, and equipping themselves and their sons as efficiently as possible to take their proper place in the social organisation of the community. If you are aware that Government are anxious to do all they can to foster these aspirations, I feel that a grave responsibility rests upon me to see that the efforts now being made are wisely directed, not only because I am the Head of the Government of India, but also because I owe it to my grandfather's memory to endeavour, as far as in me lies, to shape to the best ends a policy in the initiation of which he took so keen an interest. You know that a Member for Education has recently been appointed, but you will hardly expect him to evolve a cut-and-dried scheme at short notice. There is much to consider and much to discuss. We have arrived

at a critical point where any mistake may be far reaching, so that caution is essential, and some delay unavoidable before attempting changes in our existing system. My Government have, however, set aside a very large sum for educational purposes during the current year. I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the success and efficiency of the Madrassah-tul-Islam which I am looking forward to visiting, and I do not think you could give me any more striking guarantee of your earnestness in the cause than is contained in your proposal to tax yourselves in order to meet the cost of the better education of your community. If it comes before me, it shall have most sympathetic consideration at my hands. But do not be misled into thinking that Government service is the best reward or the best stimulus for education. Surely, your own improvement is its own reward and if you can produce men of character, ability and energy and qualities such as ensure success in the ordinary walks of life, you need not doubt that you will get your full share of Government posts, for you must know yourselves that your Commissioner is only too willing and anxious that your community should be properly re-instated in the Public

## THE KARACHI MAHOMEDAN COMMUNITY

Service of this Province The question is, therefore, one of which the solution remains in your own hands, and I trust that, as time goes on, I shall see your community rise equal to the occasion

I have dealt elsewhere with the other subjects to which you have referred, and there only remains the pleasant task of thanking you again for the cordial welcome you have given me, and expressing to you the pleasure with which I have listened to your words of loyal devotion and of happy anticipation at Their Majesties' far-distant visit to these shores

## THE SIND HINDU SABHA

*[The Sind Hindu Sabha presented an address of welcome to Lord Hardinge to which he replied thus] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SIND HINDU SABHA,—  
The major portion of your Address is devoted to matters of business with which I will attempt to deal in due order, but before I proceed to do so, let me offer you my best thanks for the kind welcome you have extended to me .

I have heard with satisfaction your expression of gratitude for the introduction of the Reforms with which the Government of Lord Minto will always be associated. I do not suppose the regulations are perfect, and even if they were perfect, I am quite certain that they would not give satisfaction to every one, such as they are. They have been in force for only a very short time, almost too short to speak with authority as to their working, but they are now under examination by the Local Governments, and if it should be shown that there are any matters in which improvement seems possible, with due regard to

the pledges given and the various interests concerned, Government will not be backward in taking the necessary action. I should, however, like to take this opportunity of saying what a high opinion I have formed of my Legislative Council as at present constituted. A great many questions have been asked, and attention in the way of resolutions has been drawn to a large number of subjects of very great importance. Government have looked at them from fresh points of view, and have, when possible, been glad to meet half way the views of Hon'ble Members, in some matters, and to explain publicly why they could not do so in others. The debates have been marked by good sense and moderation and, above all, by tolerance—and in this country, where too many creeds and races jostle with one another at close quarters, tolerance is a most desirable and important virtue.

The question of direct postal communication between Aden and Karachi is one of very lively interest. It has, in the past, been the subject of frequent representations by the Chamber of Commerce and the Municipality of Karachi, and you now take it up as a matter that concerns not only this city, but Sind and the whole

of Northern India and Bengal. Lord Curzon dealt with this matter very fully when he was here ten years ago, but if you desire to have the question re-examined, I promise you that any well-considered recommendation you may make shall have the careful consideration of Government.

Your next subject is that of railways. I have grave doubts whether it would be possible to justify a direct railway route between Bombay and Sind as a profitable concern from a commercial point of view, and I may tell you that the result of a very careful survey made some years ago showed that it would not even repay its working expenses. As regards the route, I have a suspicion that His Highness the Rana of Cutch would prefer that you should leave him to decide for himself whether a through railway would be good for his State. When the question was under examination it was decided that a route running to the north of Cutch would be preferable. But though I recognise that there would be advantages in direct through communication with Bombay, I am afraid I cannot, in view of the unfavourable results of the survey I have mentioned, hold out any hopes that such a line is likely to be under-



taken, at any rate in the near future I will not weary you by repeating here what I have already said to the Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the extension of the metre gauge system to Karachi.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the question of the duration of Settlement guarantees has never been under the consideration of the Government of India in particular relation to Sind Mr Younghusband tells me that the Bombay Government fully realise the advantages of a longer term than ten years, and that there is a steady tendency in that direction Some of your ten years Settlements have been allowed to continue without relapsing after the expiry of the period fixed, and in some of your most recent Settlements the period has been for fifteen instead of ten years In the recent fluctuating conditions of Sind it is impossible to see clearly ahead for a long term of years, and I believe I am right in saying that your cultivators not infrequently secure a reduction of rates after ten years, when it appears that the expectations of irrigational facilities upon which the Settlement was based have not been fulfilled I am afraid that I cannot promise you

threshed out more thoroughly Your Commissioner tells me that no representation on the subject has ever been made to him, and while the number of Sessions cases increased, I learn that the number of Civil suits instituted was actually fewer in 1910 than in 1909

When the draft of your Address was shown to me, my attention was at once caught by the natural wish to which you have given expression that His Most Gracious Majesty might be pleased to take his departure from India by way of Karachi I was aware that His Majesty already had other arrangements in contemplation, but I thought it right to lay before him the request that you have made and ascertain his pleasure I am afraid that I must disappoint you For, much as His Majesty appreciates your loyal desire in this matter, he is sorry that he cannot conveniently arrange to embark at Karachi on his return journey, and I am confident that the spirit which moved you to make the request will enable you to accept it with cheerfulness

I am sorry that I have not been able to be more responsive to the wishes you have expressed on various topics I am glad that you should have spoken out freely what you have in your

## DHARAMPUR KING EDWARD CONSUMPTIVE HOSPITAL

*[H E Lord Hardinge opened, on the 29th April, the King Edward Consumptive Hospital founded by Mr B M Malabar and which owed so much to the generosity of the Patiala State H H the Maharajah of Patiala read an address in the course of which he gave a history of the Home and announced that he would give one lakh of Rupees in commemoration of the opening by the Viceroy, and requested His Excellency to formally open the sanatorium In response to this invitation the Viceroy spoke as follows] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—It is considerably more than a year ago since the first patient was admitted to this institution and to some it may seem rather a work of supererogation that I should come here after the lapse of so many months to declare it open The only answer I can find to that criticism is that an institution so full of service to suffering humanity is worthy of the little trouble and attention implied by an opening ceremony, that I at any rate could not possibly have opened it before, and that it would have been an

offence against common sense to have postponed making use of it until it could be opened with due form

It is a little ceremony that I perform with particular pleasure for more than one reason. It is a privilege to be associated, in however small a degree, with any effort that is made to reduce the sum of suffering in the world, and this particular institution, so happily set in peaceful and beautiful surroundings, will, it may be hoped, in a long career of usefulness save many a poor soul from suffering and death. Its name has been very happily chosen, for I had the honour of knowing His late Majesty King Edward well enough to be aware how, amid all the cares of State, he ever had close to his heart the alleviation of sickness and the mitigation of pain.

I have heard with the greatest pleasure the list of generous donations which you have mentioned, but among them all your own liberality is most conspicuous as this asylum has received so much from you already, both in the free gift of sites and the promise of support, and of a hospital for the bad cases. I hope it may always receive your fostering care in the future. This beneficence entitles you to the thanks of

all to whom philanthropy is more than a mere word, and is a happy omen for the welfare and happiness of your subjects. This Sanatorium is to be congratulated in having as its Superintendent Mr Mazumdar, who, throughout a long career of public usefulness as a Government servant, was ever ready to help those around him and now devotes his honourable retirement to so worthy a cause, and all praise is due to Drs Bannerji, Ganguli, and Patke, who give their services gratuitously, as well as to those whose support and subscriptions have enabled so happy an idea to be brought to fruition. I am not certain whether one of these gentlemen is always present, but I venture to emphasise the supreme importance of proper medical supervision in an institution of this character, so that not only the patients may have the best treatment available, but also reliable observations may be recorded not only for the benefit of the patients themselves, but for the increase of scientific knowledge of the disease and its treatment, and last, but not least, every sanitary precaution may be taken. I believe that patients come here to be treated from all parts of India and thus testify to the great need which exists for a Consumptive

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Home. The only pity is that many of them come when the disease has so far advanced that a cure is difficult and sometimes impossible. I hope that those who return to their homes restored to health and strength will make widely-known the benefits they have received and urge those who are in need of similar treatment to betake themselves to this happy home at the earliest possible stages of the disease.

Gentlemen, I now declare the King Edward Sanatorium to be open, and I wish it a long career of usefulness.

## THE SIMLA MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

*[The following is the reply of H E the Viceroy to the Address from the Simla Municipality on the 3rd May 1911] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SIMLA MUNICIPALITY,  
—It is exceedingly kind of you to have come forward on my first arrival at Simla with this Address of Welcome couched in such kindly language, and my sense of gratitude is deepened by the fact that your words are truly words of welcome and do not ask me, as Addresses of Welcome sometimes do, to solve in a sentence problems which have defied the best efforts of my predecessors, or to deal with difficult questions where important interests are at variance. I cannot grumble when such matters are put before me, for in the brief visit, which alone a Viceroy can pay, to the different parts of India, it is only right that different sections of the community should unburden their minds and direct his attention to the projects which interest them and the grievances which make them sore, and the practice adds to his opportunities of knowing the wants of the people

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over whose destinies he is called to preside That, however, does not detract from his pleasure at receiving an Address like yours which asks for nothing and complains of nothing, and may, I hope, be taken to imply that you are, on the whole, fairly happy and contented

I trust that India may be happy and my administration successful, but this time alone can show, and my brief experience has shown enough to satisfy me that the next few years will be very strenuous, and the shade of my grandfather would rise to reproach me if I did not use every power in an earnest endeavour to set forward my great charge in the path of progress and prosperity, peace and happiness This Municipality of Simla, under whose auspices so many reside, is entitled to its due share of attention, and my sympathy and interest will always be at your service in your efforts to increase the amenities of life along the pleasant and glorious hills On Lady Hardinge you can always rely for the warmest sympathy and support in any movement which has for its aim the relief of suffering, especially among the women of India, and I speak for her as well as for myself when I thank you



## THE SIMLA MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

once more very warmly, gentlemen, for the good-will and kindly feeling which you have just expressed on the occasion of our first coming to live among you

## HARDINGE HOSPITAL FOR CONSUMPTIVES

*[His Excellency, invited by H H the Maharajah of Patiala, laid on the 3rd October 1911 the foundation stone of the Hardinge Hospital at Dharampur named after his illustrious grandfather In doing so the Viceroy said] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,—Six months ago I had the pleasure of declaring open the King Edward Sanatorium, and when I was asked whether I would come again to lay the foundation stone of this hospital, I readily welcomed the chance of showing once more my sympathy with this the pioneer institution of its character in India, the more readily in that its founders have so closely engaged my filial interest by associating with it the name of my grandfather, who also in his time was so closely connected with the Patiala State. There is however something a little melancholy about the building which is to be reared upon this stone, for, however complete it may be in its arrangements, however scientific its appliances, we have to realise

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that it is intended for advanced cases such as it is inexpedient to admit to the King Edward Sanatorium, and we can only hope that as our knowledge of the disease advances, the tender care and attention which they will receive within its walls may serve to snatch many a despairing victim from the jaws of death. But, however melancholy be the need for such a hospital, there cannot be any doubt that the need of it as a complement to the Sanatorium is urgent. One of the advantages of both is the protection of the public from infection, but while the Sanatorium holds out the most cheering hope of cure to its inmates, the hospital is intended for the more desperate cases, and I need not emphasise the evils which would result, if, through close association, slight and primary cases were subjected to renewed infection from the more hopeless types.

In conclusion, I want to say a few words about the management of the Sanatorium to which this hospital is to be an adjunct. First, as regards admission, it must be remembered that the Sanatorium treatment is not a panacea for all consumptives, and as fatigue has a most deleterious effect upon patients suffering from this disease, the journey here in this country of

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long distances should not be undertaken, unless some responsible man has certified beforehand that the case is really suitable for admission. Secondly, fresh air and pine trees do not in themselves make a Sanatorium, and one of the most important factors in the treatment lies in the strictest regulation of every hour of the day for each individual patient. The Medical Officer should, therefore, have full powers of control, and the patients should give him their absolute confidence and implicit obedience. Thirdly, I cannot help thinking that it would be very desirable that an investigation should be made into the question whether the tuberculin treatment, which has already secured a solid foundation in Europe for the cure of tuberculosis, might not advantageously be combined with the ordinary sanatorium treatment for the cure of consumption. This is a suggestion that I venture to offer for your consideration.

I am much gratified to learn that since my last visit you have engaged a full-time Medical Officer, and I am sure you will forgive me for the few words of advice and caution I have used when I remind you that, apart from its philanthropic aspect, which all must applaud, this is

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the first sanatorium for consumptives in India, its progress will be watched with eager interest, and its success or failure may have consequences reaching far beyond the poor souls who shall hereafter bless its existence and far beyond that little circle of kind hearts to whom it owes its foundation. I wish at the same time to express my warm approval of the generous initiative taken by the Maharajah of Patiala in providing a General Hospital, and my hearty appreciation of the substantial financial assistance that His Highness has contributed to the scheme. I am glad to note that the new hospital is to be thoroughly up to date and equipped with the latest of modern appliances. I am also glad to know that there is to be a full hospital staff. The fact that the Hospital will bear the name of my grandfather and of my family will be additional reason for my continued interest in it, and I shall look forward to seeing the hospital before long in full working order, and I trust that it may obtain the reputation of being the most perfect and a model hospital of its kind in India.

## THE HYDERABAD STATE BANQUET

*[His Excellency the Viceroy was entertained at a banquet by H H the Nizam of Hyderabad and His Excellency in drinking to the health of His Highness made the following speech] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—I thank you very cordially for the kind manner in which you have received the toast of my health, with which His Highness was so good as to couple the name of Lady Hardinge. I can truly say that it was a matter of sincere regret to my wife that she was unable to accompany me on this occasion to Hyderabad. I hope, however, that during my tenure of office as Viceroy, it may be my privilege to receive another invitation from His Highness to visit Hyderabad, and that she may be able, on that occasion, to come with me.

Your Highness I thank you for your cordial welcome. The circumstances which have led to my visit to Hyderabad at this juncture must fill the hearts of all present here with sadness and melancholy. The sudden and unforeseen loss of your Highness' father in the prime of his life came upon India with a great shock, and

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though I did not myself have the honour and privilege of his personal acquaintance, I felt that by his unexpected death a pillar of the fabric of the State had been abruptly removed, for it is no mere idle flattery to say that the late Nizam left behind him a reputation for liberality, loyalty and sagacious statesmanship which has not been advertised or published abroad, but is a matter of common knowledge to those who came into personal contact with him, and especially so to all who have been concerned with the Government of India. In these circumstances, I felt that I should like to take the earliest possible occasion of visiting Hyderabad, not only as a mark of respect to the late Nizam, but also to pay Your Highness my earnest and sincere condolences in the loss that has befallen you, and to stretch out to you the hand of friendship and support on the threshold of the great task that lies before you in administering to the peace and contentment of the 13 millions of people whose destiny has now fallen under your control. Gladly, therefore, did I welcome the kind invitation which Your Highness extended to me, and my only regret is that my stay in this great and interesting city must be short. But it is my

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hope that the opportunities I have had, and shall have, of personal association with Your Highness may form the basis of a friendship between us which will not only prove a lasting source of pleasure to us both, but may furnish a bond of mutual affection and esteem, the strength of which shall be apparent in all future relations between your State and the Imperial Government of India

This is not an occasion on which I could have any desire or inclination to thrust advice upon Your Highness, and I will only say that I have read the speech you made at your Installation Durbar with much interest and pleasure. You said you would follow in your father's footsteps, and in doing so you will do wisely and well, but you must remember that the world does not stand still and that the business of Government requires constant and strenuous effort, and that without the personal interest, such as only the Ruler of the State can show, there is always danger of abuses creeping into the administration. You will be wise to look into things for yourself, to be easily accessible, to be ready to hear all sides, to choose your advisers with the greatest care, and, when you are satisfied with your choice,



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to give them your fullest confidence and support. I am glad to think that those whose wisdom and guidance won the approbation of your father meet with your own approval, and it is to me a happy augury that you should have decided to extend your trust and confidence for the present to the well-tried councillors whose qualities have been so well tested in the past. And I need hardly remind Your Highness that whenever occasion or difficulties may arise, you will always have at hand in the post of the Resident, one of my most trusted officers, to whom you may always turn for help with complete assurance that you will receive from him wise and sympathetic advice.

Your Highness will forgive me for reminding you that in the exalted position to which you have been called your own character and personality are of far reaching importance. You will have great temptations to face, and I pray that God may give you grace and strength to overcome them. Be active in your habits, and thus preserve the health of body and mind so that, when your time comes, as it must come to us all, to pass on your burden to another, the future historian may be able to record a life devoted to duty and to the welfare and

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contentment of the millions of subjects entrusted to your care. I shall look forward with pleasure to meeting you again in a few short weeks at the Durbar of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, and I trust that that happy and auspicious occasion may provide one more link in the chain of mutual confidence and loyalty which has now for so many years bound together Your Highness' family and the Royal House of England.

And now, ladies and Gentlemen, it is my pleasant task to propose the health of H. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, and in doing so, I wish prosperity to the State of Hyderabad and a happy and successful reign to its Ruler.

## ALL INDIA KING EDWARD MEMORIAL

*[In requesting His Majesty King George V to open the All India Memorial of King Edward VII, Lord Hardinge addressed the following words to His Imperial Majesty] —*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY,  
—On behalf of the Committee of the All-India Memorial to your illustrious and greatly beloved father, the King-Emperor Edward VII, I have the honour to ask Your Imperial Majesty to place in position the Memorial stone of a statue to his memory, to which subscriptions have been contributed by thousands and thousands of Your Imperial Majesty's loyal and devoted subjects in India, rich and poor, sharing the privilege of testifying to the love and reverence with which the name of their illustrious Ruler will ever be cherished

In the statue that is to adorn this pedestal will be enshrined a lasting pledge of the gratitude of the many millions of your Indian people for the peace, justice and prosperity that prevailed during the late King-Emperor's all too short but strenuous reign, which brought

him in the glorious victories of peace and the reward of high endeavour and of duty unflinchingly fulfilled

In this city of ancient historic memories and heroic achievements, the statue of our great and revered King-Emperor will stand not only as a splendid sentinel guarding the records of the great dynasties of the past and of the loyal devotion to your Throne of the countless races and peoples of Your Majesty's great Empire in India, but it will remain as a lasting symbol of the love of England and her Ruler for India and her people, and a guarantee of their power and desire to lead India forward on the path of noble aims and high aspirations

And now in asking Your Imperial Majesty to place this stone in position, we entrust this noble Memorial of a most noble Sovereign to the homage of posterity and to the loyal keeping of your Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects

## SPEECH AT THE MINING INSTITUTE

*[The Mining Institute of Calcutta entertained Lord Hardinge at dinner, and in responding to the toast of his health His Excellency spoke as follows] —*

MR PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I greatly appreciate the cordial way in which you have drunk the toast of my health and the kind expressions in which you, Sir, have couched your welcome to me here to night

It is perfectly true that the preparations for His Imperial Majesty's visit to Delhi and Calcutta involved a severe strain upon myself and upon all those who had responsibilities in connection with it, but when I look back upon that visit and all that it had meant to India, both now and for the future, when I recall the enthusiasm and devotion that it evoked from all classes of His Majesty's subjects, and when I consider the harmony and kindness of feeling aroused among all sections of the community, I feel more than amply repaid for all the efforts which I and those who worked with me have made to ensure the complete success of such a gigantic undertaking as the recent Durbar, and of the

other arrangements connected with the visit of Their Majesties to this country As I dare say some of you may know, there were not a few people in England who advocated the opinion that the King's visit to India should be concluded with the visit to Delhi This was never my idea, as from the very day that I was offered the appointment of the Viceroy of India, on which occasion the King mentioned to me his project of visiting his Indian Empire, I maintained that the visit would not be complete without a visit to Calcutta This view I held throughout, and although I was always confident that the King would have an excellent reception in Calcutta, I never conceived that it could possibly be quite as enthusiastic as it proved to be

The Indian people are, I believe, absolutely loyal to the core Loyalty to the King is with them, as it appears to me, instinctive The presence of their Sovereign in their midst inspires them with instinctive feelings of profound loyalty and veneration With no race is this more so than with the Bengalis, who, though often stirred by sentiment, are warmly appreciative of sympathetic treatment at the hands of all, but, more especially so at the hands of their

Sovereign During those wonderful nine days that our King Emperor and Queen-Empress were in our midst, it cannot be denied that the enthusiasm of the people increased daily, and had reached a climax at the moment of their departure that I can only describe as prodigious. It was more than that. It was magnificent. I have been in many big Capitals on State occasions and have never witnessed any enthusiasm comparable to what I saw in Calcutta. The personal Sovereignty of the King-Emperor was invested with a new significance in the eyes of Indians, and I cannot help feeling that the Royal Visit has infused a new spirit of confidence and hope in the minds of all the people in Calcutta and Bengal that will bear fruit a thousandfold, and, while heralding the dawn of a new era of peace and progress, has already dispersed the clouds of suspicion and unrest that have darkened the horizon during the past few years.

I confess I should be glad, as you have suggested, of a little rest, but I was particularly anxious to accept your hospitable invitation, not only because I had promised to do so last year, but also because I wished to show by my presence here to-night what great importance

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDING.

I attach to the position of the mining industry in the general development of India. I do not wish to trouble you in an afterdinner speech with an indigestible mass of statistics, but I will give you a few figures to illustrate my meaning. In the past twenty years the output of coal has increased from 2 million to 12 million tons, of gold from 11,000 to 6,000,000 ozs., of petroleum from 5 million to 215 million gallons, and the export of manganese from practically nothing to 800,000 tons. Lead and silver are coming into prominence in the Northern Shin States, and wolfram is attracting a good deal of attention in Lower Burma where it was first discovered in 1907 by those handmaids of the mining industry, the geological experts. In the same twenty years the value of the combined output of the more prominent minerals has risen from 1½ million to £ 7½ million sterling. Nor has the advance been confined to the amount. The methods of mining are steadily improving. Kolar whence comes almost all the gold, stands both in its universal employment of electric power and in the depth of its shafts, for all that is most advanced in mining in the East. Some of the workings there, reaching as they do a



vertical depth of over 4,000 ft, are amongst the deepest in the world, and constitute, I am told, a record in deep mining in the tropics, while in Bengal the introduction of coal cutting machinery and screening plant and the commencement of electric installations bear testimony that Indian coal-mining also aspires to the realisation of the economic ideal. Concurrently with mechanical advance, the condition of the Indian collier is being improved. Insanitary *bustis* and an impure water supply are giving place to model dwellings, septic tanks and filtered water, and the truth is being realised that money spent in improving the health and comfort of the collier finds its return in increased efficiency. One of the pioneers of this movement is, I am told, the retiring President of this Institute, Sir Percy Ashton. I regret that he is not present here to night that I might congratulate him on his strenuous endeavours to improve the conditions of life of the colliery worker.

You have remarked, Sir, that you are far removed from the workshops of the world, but that is a deficiency which I hope will soon begin to disappear. The Barakar Iron Works and the newly opened Tata Iron and Steel

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Works are signs of fresh industrial development. They are pioneer industries, and the road which they are hewing out should lead India to take her place at last among the great manufacturing countries of the world. I wish them most cordially every success. I understand that a question to which the mining industry of India attach special importance at the present moment is the need for a more adequate supply of subordinate employees, such as Mining Surveyors and Overseers. To meet this demand the Government of India have at present a small Committee touring in India consisting of the Principals of the Roorkee and Bombay Technical Colleges, whose instructions are to consult with business men interested in the mining industry, among others, with a view to securing that the Colleges shall so model their course of instruction in future that suitable candidates may be forthcoming to meet a real and effective demand for skilled employees in any industrial undertaking of importance. Another question of importance is the revision of rules for the grant of mining concessions which is now in hand. It is hoped by the revision to modify in certain particulars the present control exercised by the State so as to

## SPEECH AT THE MINING INSTITUTE

meet more fully the requirements of the public. Further additional responsibility will, if possible, be conferred on Local Governments so that questions on which official orders are indispensable may be dealt with locally and, therefore, more promptly than hitherto.

The President of the Institute has, in his speech, alluded to the division of the Bengal coalfields, owing to the recent administrative changes but he has very kindly and tactfully not pressed me for a reply. I may mention, however, that I have received within the last two or three days a Memorial from the leading Coal Companies praying for the incorporation into Bengal of all the coalfields. I need hardly say that this Memorial will be carefully examined by the Government of India but from a study of the map it may be observed that the old boundaries of the new Province of Behar, Chota Nagpore and Orissa will in-

Bengal, of the Province of Behar and Orissa, and of the Province of Assam, and that the case of the District of Manbhum was even before the receipt of the Memorial carefully considered and decided. From the information that I have so far received, I am given to understand that the District of Manbhum belongs, ethnologically and administratively to Chota Nagpur, and is subject to the Chota Nagpur Rent Act. At the same time, the coal industry is moving westwards in such a way that in no case could it even be kept only in the hands of the Bengal Government, since it is conceivable that in process of time a wedge might be driven in dividing Behar from Orissa, and penetrating even into the Central provinces. In order to meet the requirements of the owners of coal fields whose property may be partly in one Province and partly in another, it seems that there should be a single law for the whole area, similar Rules for the whole District, and a close similarity between the interpretation placed on the rules and orders affecting the management of the mines in both Provinces. Of these requirements the first is safeguarded by the fact that the Indian Mines Act is one for all India. It will be the

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

contributed to the removal of mutual jealousies, so that your members have had opportunities of benefiting by one another's successes, and avoiding one another's mistakes, to the advantage of the mining industries and to the establishment of a bond of mutual respect and *esprit de corps* among the Mining Engineers working in India. These are results which must gladden the hearts of your founder, Mr. W H Pickering, and your first President, Sir Thomas Holland, and in thanking you once more for the kind hospitality and friendly feeling you have shown me this evening, I congratulate your Institute upon the success which has attended its footsteps, and wish it the most prosperous future.

## THE NARAINGUNGE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

*[H E the Viceroy received an Address from the Naraingunge Chamber of Commerce on 29th January 1912 to which His Excellency replied as follows] —*

GENTLEMEN OF THE NARAINGUNGE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,—I thank you cordially for the Address of Welcome which you have presented to me. In it you have referred to the importance of the jute industry and its claims to the consideration and encouragement of the Government. I assure you that these claims have been, and will be, carefully considered. Some years ago, in the interest of the jute industry, we appointed a Fibre Expert at the Agricultural Farm at Dacca. It was anticipated that the work of this specialist would lead to improvements in the quality of the raw product and the methods of cultivation. I am not sure that those interested in the industry have made as much use of our Expert as we hoped at the time of creating the appointment. I trust that in their reasonable efforts to increase the quantity of jute produced, the necessity of

aiming at superior quality has not been overlooked.

The Government of India have recently received a memorial in which certain important firms dealing in jutemanufactures have asked for the creation of a Government Jute Department. The Memorial will be sympathetically considered with the assistance of the advice of the Local Government Without desiring in any way to prejudge the question involved, I would like you to consider whether the creation of such a Department which we are asked to place in charge of a business man really falls within the legitimate sphere of Government, and whether the objects aimed at cannot be more satisfactorily attained by the concerted efforts of merchants interested in the trade We have had in the past some experience of special regulation of a trade in raw produce in the Cotton Frauds Department in Bombay. Such experience is not entirely favourable to the prospects of a Jute Department such as we have been asked to contemplate It might be wise to consider whether the true function of Government in connection with your industry is not more properly the employment of the existing machinery of Government, so far as consistent

## THE NARAINGUNGE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

with its other duties, to assist your industry in all its stages. Thus we endeavour to supply annually statistical forecasts of the jute production. I am aware that these forecasts fall far short of the accuracy that is desirable, but the available materials for estimating the areas and outturn in the case of the localities in which jute is grown are undoubtedly defective. The causes of these defects are not such as to require the creation of a Special Department in order to provide a remedy. The manufacturing industry in Calcutta is at present considering the desirability of more united action in the interests of the jute trade. I commend to your consideration the subject of co-operation in the growth and preparation of the fibre. If you earnestly desire improvement the Government of India will always be ready to consider sympathetically a demand for any assistance that they are asked to lend in order to further such measures as you may devise in the course of joint action directed towards the improvement of your great and flourishing industry. The direction and control of these measures should, however, preferably remain with the capable men of business who are engaged in this industry.



## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Once again I thank you, gentlemen, for your courtesy in coming forward, to meet me with an Address of Welcome at the centre of an industry which means so much to the prosperity of Bengal, and I cannot tell you what a pleasure it is to me to have this opportunity of meeting you and of discussing these matters

## THE DACCA MUNICIPALITY

*[Lord Hardinge visited Dacca after the modification of the Partition involving the re union of Dacca with Bengal. The Dacca Municipality presented an Address to which His Excellency gave the following reply] —*

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you very warmly indeed for the hearty welcome you have given me on my arrival in your ancient city, which was famous and renowned some three centuries ago, when the Governor of Eastern Bengal made Dacca his capital that he might the more conveniently repel invasion from Assam, on the one hand, and piratical incursion on the other. For the past six years you have once more been the Capital of Eastern Bengal for less martial reasons. The pirates have ceased from troubling, and Assam has become no longer a foe to be dreaded, but a sister Province to be cared for and nurtured like yourselves. History has to a certain extent repeated itself, and this time, after a briefer interval, you are called upon to surrender your Governor in a cause which has many earnest advocates, but, like all great questions, it must, of

necessity give rise to considerable diversity of opinion. It is true that your reunion with Bengal proper may mean that you will not see so much of the ruler of the Province as you have done in recent years, but I do not think there is any marked difference. Advance has been made in the Dacca Division of recent years in every direction, while the town of Dacca itself owes a special debt of gratitude to your late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Lancelot Hare, who was connected with it in one capacity or another for practically the whole of his service. But, as you say yourselves, your city has long been a centre of culture and learning, and if I have correctly judged the character of your new Governor, I feel confident that it will be his special care to see that education receives every encouragement in this part of Bengal, and that those schemes of which you speak, of drainage, of hospital improvement and sanitary progress, shall not be set back owing to the administrative changes so shortly to be brought into operation.

I feel that I should be more than rash if I said anything definite either about railway connection between Dacca and Goalundo or about the improvement of your water communications.

I think you will readily agree that railways built for the convenience of the public should be able to pay their own way, and the initial difficulty of any such project would be its enormous cost, while as regards your waterways you are, doubtless, acquainted with the difficulties of dealing on a large scale with your tidal rivers, and are aware that any hasty and ill-considered measure might easily do more harm than good. But a Waterways Committee has recently been constituted to examine the whole question and advise the Government, and if any practicable scheme is eventually evolved and submitted to the Government of India, I can assure you that it shall receive the most attentive consideration at their hands, for they do most earnestly desire that your Province shall in no way suffer from the changes that are being made, and shall have no cause to assert that those changes have been to their detriment.

Gentlemen, I thank you once more for your kindly expressions, and I rejoice with you at the happy spirit of mutual good will and devoted loyalty which has been evoked by the recent visit of Their Gracious Majesties to this Empire of theirs, so far away in distance, but so very near to their hearts in thought.

## DACCA PUBLIC BODIES' ADDRESSES.

*[The following is H. E. the Viceroy's reply to Addresses from the Eastern Bengal Land-holders Association, the Dacca Peoples Association, the Saraswat Samaj and the Provincial Mahomedan Association and Muslim League at Dacca on the 30th January 1912].—*

GENTLEMEN,—The four Addresses which have just been presented to me represent interests of considerable diversity, and though they each indicate different points of view, there is one sentiment common to them, and that is their welcome to me. For your kind words I am most grateful, and give you hearty thanks. Where interests are at variance, as they must be all the world over, it is humanly impossible for a Governor-General to do that which shall be pleasing to all, and I am sure that there is not one among you who would respect him or be pleased with him if he made promises which he would not, or could not, fulfil, but I take the meaning of your welcome to be that you do, at any rate, trust me to do the things which I think right and fair, and your greeting heartens me to go forward with a good courage.

tions are under consideration, and I have every hope that it will be possible to meet it. I have more doubt about your further desire that the franchise may be lowered. The object of this particular Regulation is to secure due representation in the Councils of the Empire of those great land-holding interests with which are associated the prosperity and some of the most ancient traditions and glories of your country. To lower the franchise must inevitably lead to the loss of some of the present power and influence of the landed interests in the Councils, though the exact amount of weight their voice is entitled to is a question open to infinite argument. I doubt whether any diastic change in the existing arrangement will commend itself to my Government.

#### THE PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION.

Members of the Dacca People's Association, I note with pleasure your expressions of gratitude at the administrative changes which have lately been announced, but you will have gathered from a speech I made a few days ago in Calcutta that it is not the present intention of the Government of India to split up the existing districts, or to interfere with the boundaries

know that he will be only too ready to meet you His Honour tells me that no scheme for the removal of the Courts has been formulated All such questions are matters of public convenience, and it is quite right and proper that, if you feel strongly on the subject, you must make your wishes known in order that the Local Government may not be ignorant of the convenience of that section of the public which you represent The only other question you have raised, with which I have not already dealt, concerns the Regulations for the election of Members to the Legislative Councils You reiterate the views which find constant expression in a large section of the Press, for the Press is of the educated classes There is no danger therefore that the Government will be ignorant of that body of opinion to which you give expression, and when the Regulations come under further consideration, that opinion will receive the consideration which is its due I can, however, give you no undertaking in this matter, there being other opinions to listen to and other interests to consider, and whatever decisions may be taken you must realise that pledges once given by the Government will not be broken

## THE SARASWAT SAMAJ

Pundits of the Saraswat Samaj, the Sanskrit language in its hoary antiquity cherishes gems of morality and philosophy which are a precious heirloom to all generations, and I am glad to meet you who make its elevating literature your study. It lends itself to beauty and poetry of expression, and the flattering picture which you have drawn of me owes something of its outline to the natural tendencies of the language, but beneath these words I recognise a spirit of real kindness of feeling, for which I can only warmly thank you, and hope that I may some day deserve some of your praise. I bid you go on and prosper in your high and self imposed task.

## MUSLIM ASSOCIATION AND MUSLIM LEAGUE

Gentlemen of the Provincial Mahomedan Association and the Muslim League—I have already given you my cordial thanks for coming here to present me with an Address of Welcome, and as I shall have a further opportunity of meeting some of the leading members of the community I will not add to these already protracted remarks.



## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDING

I will now conclude then by thanking you all, once more for your kindly welcome, and for the prayers and good wishes to which you have given utterance that I may have strength and wisdom to administer my great trust. The last words of our great King-Emperor as he left our shores was a prayer for harmony. I know that that message came from the fulness of his heart, and if when I leave India I could feel that during my tenure of office there had been some softening of mutual animosities, I should go with a light heart and a glad spirit.

## DACCA UNIVERSITY DEPUTATION.

*[A deputation, headed by Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, waited on Lord Hardinge. There were ten gentlemen representing the various Provinces in Bengal and Eastern Bengal, among whom were Messrs Surendranath Banerjee, Bhupendra Nath Basu and Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee His Excellency, in reply, said] —*

GENTLEMEN,—I have received with pleasure the references in your representation to the memorable announcements made by the King-Emperor at Delhi, and I gladly accept your assurances of your earnest desire to foster and to perpetuate the happy state of things inaugurated by His Imperial Majesty. You rightly attribute to me a desire to promote harmony, and I am hopeful that the pronouncement that I am to make will conduce to that end. You are anxious lest the constitution of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a special officer for Education in Eastern Bengal should be in the nature of an internal partition, and widen the division between the reunited Provinces. In regard to the state-

in 1898, and a Royal Commission is now sitting to consider its further reorganisation. I cannot understand how anybody can pretend that the constitution of one, or even two, Universities in a single Province can possibly lead to an internal partition or division, any more than the existence of Universities in most of the large towns of Europe or the contemplated Hindu and Mahomedan Universities which many of you support, lead to partition or division. There is no compulsion upon parents to send their children to any particular College in any particular jurisdiction. The relations between the neighbouring Universities are clearly susceptible of administrative adjustment. I share the view of those thoughtful Indian gentlemen who see in the creation of the new Universities the greatest of boons which the Government can give India, namely, the diffusion of Higher education. It is a striking compliment to the intelligence and educational progress of Bengal that the Government of India should have proposed to create in Bengal the first teaching and residential University of its kind in India, and the Government of India are confident that after mature reflection their proposal will be regarded

## DACCA UNIVERSITY DEPUTATION

in this light, and as a distinct advantage on the present educational system

During the five years preceding the constitution of the Allahabad University, the number of students increased by 37 per cent. In the five years following that event it increased by 17 per cent. in the territories within its jurisdiction

I must assume that you are not less interested than the Government of India in improving the surroundings of student life in Calcutta. In regard to this matter I speak with some personal knowledge, and I do not speak alone. I need not quote *in extenso* the well known account of the life led by the students in Calcutta, which was published by Dr. Garfield Williams, and never has been seriously challenged. I will take one passage only. There is practically no University social life, says Dr. Garfield Williams. 'Most Colleges have a few ill attended Societies exercising quite a minimum of influence. The Calcutta University Institute appeals obviously only to the very few. Believe me, you cannot exaggerate the significance of the absence of this social side in a University. The places where the students live huddled together, says Dr. Indu Madhub Mullick, who

has special professional experience among Indian students, "are most hurtful to their constitutions. The houses are dirty, dingy, ill-ventilated and crowded. They are often most objectionable. In a case of sickness of an infectious nature, such as small pox, chicken pox, measles, cholera and typhoid they have no place in which to be segregated, but lie in the same place as others, some of whom they actually infect," etc. I will quote an even higher authority, that of the Vice Chancellor himself. These are the words of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee in his last address to the Convocation — "That the situation is fraught with the gravest danger cannot be questioned for a moment. The sites now provided are in many instances, so unsatisfactory and the arrangements for superintendence of so rudimentary a character, and the lack of intimate association between teachers and students so generally the rule, that the present system, if continued, cannot reasonably be expected to foster the conception of true academic life among our students. The surroundings in which many of our students live and the obvious danger to which they are so often exposed are calculated in many cases to effect the complete ruin of the students, not

## DACCA UNIVERSITY DEPUTATION

merely from the moral and physical but also the intellectual standpoint "

My own observation, I am sorry to say, fully confirms the wider experience of these gentlemen, and I ask you, gentlemen, and I ask the parents of Bengal, are you satisfied that your sons should be brought up in such surroundings? Whatever your reply and theirs may be, mine is that I am not satisfied, and I resent the fact that many intelligent and refined young men should be brought up in such unhealthy and squalid surroundings. It is the solemn duty of the Government of India to spare no effort to remedy this state of affairs, and these are the reasons which have led the Government to think that experiments should be made upon new lines. On grounds of general policy, then, the Government have for some time been convinced of the necessity of creating new Universities in India, and Universities of the teaching and residential kind.

There was a special reason for the announcement of their decision when I met certain Mahomedan gentlemen at Dacca. As you are aware, gentlemen, the Province of Eastern Bengal, was before the partition, very backward

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

in education Since 1906 it has made great strides forward In that year there were, 1,698 Collegians in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the expenditure on Collegiate education was Rs 1,54,358 To day with the same number of institutions, the corresponding figures are 2,560 students and Rs 3,83,619 Nor has the improvement been confined to the Colleges Educational courses and schemes were framed with reference to local conditions from 1905 to 1910 11 The number of pupils in public institutions rose from 6,99,051 to 9,36,653, and the expenditure from Provincial revenues rose from Rs 11,06,510 to Rs 22,05,339, while the local expenditure, direct and indirect rose from Rs 47,81,833 to Rs 73,05,260 These results were deeply appreciated by the people of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and when I visited Dacca, I found a widespread apprehension, particularly among the Mahomedans who form the majority of the population lest the attention which the Partition of Bengal secured for the Eastern Provinces should be relaxed and that there might be a set back in educational progress It was to allay this not unreasonable apprehension that I stated to a deputation of Mahomedan gentlemen that the

## DACCA UNIVERSITY DEPUTATION

Government of India were so much impressed with the necessity of promoting education in a Province which had made such good progress during the past few years, that we had decided to recommend to the Secretary of State the constitution of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a Special Officer of Education in Eastern Bengal

The fact that this statement was made to a deputation of Mahomedan gentlemen does not, I need hardly say, mean that the University will be a Mahomedan University. The intention was that it should be a University open to all—a teaching and residential University. It may, as you suggest, be necessary to give special facilities to Mahomedans. The inadequate arrangement for the Collegiate instruction of Mahomedans was emphasised by the Vice-Chancellor in his Address to the Convocation in 1909. I can only say that any proposal to this end which the new Governor of Bengal may make will receive the sympathetic consideration of the Government of India. The question of the scope of the Dacca University and of the position of the Special Educational Officer are among the many which will be left



over for the new Governor of Bengal to consider and advise, and I cannot imagine that the creation of a separate educational cadre for Eastern Bengal would commend itself to Lord Carmichael. In due course that Government will make their recommendations to the Government of India, but I may say at once that it never was the intention of the Government of India that there should be a line of cleavage in the Educational Department of the new Province as between the two Bengals.

There is one passage in your Address which I frankly tell you that I regret, because I think it may be susceptible of misunderstanding. I refer to the suggestion that the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam were unsympathetic in their treatment of private schools and Colleges. I wish bygones to be bygones, and regret that this suggestion should have been made. I need only point out that when the new Province was formed, not a single College was in receipt of Government aid, while the Government were spending less than Rs 1½ lakhs in aiding private institutions. In 1910, there were four Aided Colleges, and the Government spent over Rs 3½ lakhs in aiding

## DACCA UNIVERSITY DEPUTATION

private institutions I cannot withhold my tribute of admiration for the work done by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, in the teeth of great difficulties

I have only again to thank you I wish to impress upon you the greatness of the work in which we are called on to co operate I am hopeful that the large issues of educational policy on which the future of India so greatly depends will be viewed with a wide outlook and apart from personal or political interests, and in asking for your help and co operation in the great task I feel sure that my appeal will not be vain

## BENARES MUNICIPAL AND DISTRICT BOARDS

*[On the 17th February 1912 the Municipal and District Boards, Benares, presented Addresses to His Excellency at Nadesar House, to which the Viceroy made the following reply] —*

GENTLEMEN,—There was a time when I feared it might be necessary for Lady Hardinge and myself to forego the pleasure of seeing your sacred city, and I was very glad, indeed when I found that, after all, it would be possible for us to pay you a visit, although a very brief one. There is no other place in the world that means so much to the Hindus, and the pious devotion of the countless thousands of pilgrims to whom the holy Kasi has represented the goal of their spiritual aspiration, and the prayers of the untold myriads more who would, but could not, make the great pilgrimage, lend to your city an atmosphere of solemnity and sanctity.

Upon you, members of the Municipality, the steady stream of humanity coming and going through your gates throws a heavy responsi-

lity. You have faced it in the past with considerable success. Not only were you among the first to recognise the necessity for a plentiful provision of good water, but you were the first to see that a good water-supply must go hand in hand with a proper drainage system, and, though you have received assistance from the Local Government, you have supplemented it, finding from your resources a large portion of the expenditure required for these great works. You have had your award in your freedom of late from serious epidemics, and you have thereby rendered a service not only to yourselves and your fellowcitizens, but also to the rest of India, but your task is no light one, and it needs all the sagacity and foresight which you can exercise, and even as I speak I grieve to know that parts of your city are lying in the clutches of plague, that dread scourge which has cost India so many lives and so many tears. If you can continue to carry out your duties in such a way that the healthiness and amenities of your Municipality are steadily improved, you will have good cause to be proud of the results of your labours.

Benares is, as you truly remark, well abreast of the times in matters educational, and I regret

## THE BENARES STATE BANQUET

*[H H the Maharajah of Benares gave a Banquet on the 17th Feb 1912 in honour of Their Excellencies, Lord and Lady Hardinge In responding to the toast of their health His Excellency spoke as follows] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—I thank Your Highness most heartily for the flattering terms in which you have proposed my health, and you, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordiality with which you have received the toast. It was with great regret that, owing to the illness of Lady Hardinge's brother, we had to postpone our journey, but I am glad that my brother in law's health has so far improved as to enable us to visit Your Highness in Benares, and the warmth of our reception here in these historic surroundings has made us appreciate to the full how much we should have missed, had we been unable to fulfil our engagement.

It is a source of great gratification to us to know that Your Highness in common, I believe, with the Rulers and people of India in general, approves the administrative changes which were announced by His Imperial Majesty the

King-Emperor at the recent Durbar at Delhi. This is not the occasion to discuss the merits of those changes or the objects with which they were devised, but whatever may be their result, and I confidently believe that they will prove to be for the great and permanent benefit of the Indian people, we may claim at least the credit of having recommended them to His Majesty's Government with a view solely to the benefit of the people whose interests are in our charge, and it is my firm determination to continue, through good and evil report, to further those interests with all the power that I can command.

During the brief period that has elapsed since the Benares family domains were converted into a regular State, Your Highness has, I am glad to know, shown yourself fully worthy of the confidence bestowed on you by His Majesty's Government, and I feel sure that by continued attention to the needs of your subjects and with the assistance of the Political Agent, you will do your utmost to retain that confidence. If I may add a word of advice to Your Highness on this subject, I would suggest that, in considering a scheme for the development of your State and the

## THE BENARES STATE BANQUET

advancement of the welfare of your people, you should be careful to temper enthusiasm with caution, and insist on the exercise of wise economy I would also impress on Your Highness, if I may do so without offence, the desirability of educating your son and heir (whom I am glad to see here to night) in the details of State management, so as to fit him for the honourable and responsible position to which he will ultimately succeed

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I would ask you to join me in drinking the health of our distinguished host I have enjoyed the privilege of His Highness's friendship for a few months only, but even during that brief time I have learnt to appreciate highly his generosity, his steadfast loyalty and his zeal for the public good, and it is in recognition of these qualities that I ask you all to drink to the long life and prosperity of His Highness the Maharajah of Benares

## THE LUCKNOW MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

*[H E the Viceroy was presented on the 10th February 1912 with an address of welcome by the Lucknow Municipal Board to which he made the following reply] —*

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you very warmly for the welcome you have extended to me upon my first visit to your city. It is a visit to which I have looked forward with the greatest possible pleasure and I was keenly disappointed when I found it necessary to postpone it, owing to the anxious illness of a member of my family. His steady progress towards recovery has enabled me to fulfil this engagement but I regret that it was not possible for Lady Hardinge to prolong her absence from her brother's side, and she is very sad that she cannot be with me here to day to share your welcome and to make your acquaintance and to see with her own eyes this famous city so rich in old associations so full of living interest and so pleasant to look upon.

The feelings of joy and gratification to which you have given expression in regard to His Imperial Majesty's Durbar at Delhi are, I have



reason to know, common to the whole of this wide Empire, and I do not think that any one who was present at that great ceremony can have come away without a deep and lasting impression of its solemn significance. The devotion and loyalty of the immense gathering of the Princes and people of India to His Imperial Majesty were patent to all who had eyes to see, and were most fittingly expressed in the message which it was my privilege to send from them to the people of England on the day of His Majesty's safe return to his own country. Perhaps it is not so widely appreciated how greatly touched Their Imperial Majesties were by the welcome which they received in India. In his public utterances he told his people something of his feelings and both of them, in conversation out here and in letters written on their way home, have spoken to me of India and of the people of India in terms of the greatest warmth and affection. You have yourselves only recently received an illustration of the King Emperor's personal interest in your well being in the commands that he was pleased to issue that your Medical College and Hospital should be called after his own name, and that the Women's portion of them shall be

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

named after Her Majesty I congratulate you, citizens of Lucknow, upon the happy choice you made of a memorial of their earlier visit, and upon the public spirit and hearty co-operation which has enabled you to bring it to so successful an issue. That spirit of striving together for the common good is deserving of the most hearty commendation, and its fruit is apparent in the long list of improvements which you have recently effected, or are now effecting, whether in perfecting your drainage system, laying out parks, improving your markets, adding to your schools, developing your communications, or enhancing the beauty and healthfulness of your city by town-planning schemes. I was particularly pleased to hear how successful has been the scheme for the Aminabad Park, where you have not only swept away an insanitary area, but have created in its place an attractive and healthy open space, and have accomplished this at an expenditure of little more than Rs 5,000. This is true efficiency, and I offer my congratulations to the Hon'ble Mr Ganga Prasad Varma, your senior Vice-Chairman, to whom, I am told, the credit is largely due. I will not detain you longer, Gentlemen,

## THE LUCKNOW MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

except to tell you again what a pleasure it is to me to come and visit your city, to express my gratitude for the kind reception you have given me and to bid you go on and prosper in the course of civic progress in which you are so happily set

## THE OUDH EX ROYAL FAMILY.

*[At Government House the members of the Oudh ex Royal Family Association presented an Address to the Viceroy expressing gratitude for the special consideration shown them by the recent grant of scholarships to the young students of the family, whose parents were unable to provide for their education H E the Viceroy, in reply, said] —*

GENTLEMEN,—I am very pleased to have this opportunity of meeting you and making your acquaintance. The Address which you have just presented to me has given me considerable pleasure, in the assurance which it contains that the promises made by Lord Canning more than half a century ago have been faithfully redeemed, and you, on your part, have, I am glad to know, consistently fulfilled your part of the bargain by setting an example of loyalty and good conduct.

The Association which you have formed is yet in its infancy and I am not quite sure what led to its constitution, but if I am right in inferring from one of your remarks that one of its principal aims is the proper education

## THE OUDH BY ROYAL FAMILY

of some of the cadets of your family, it has my most hearty sympathy. These are not times in which it will suffice for a man to sit with folded hands and boast of ancient lineage. The days are past when a long line of ancestors was of more repute than personal worth and personal character, and I rejoice to note your appreciation of the assistance which the Government have given towards bringing up the younger members of your family to be useful members of the community. The policy of the Government in this direction has not been without its fruit, and some of your sons are worthily serving the Government, with which you have so strong a bond of mutual protection and friendship. This is the line along which I should like to see your Association working, and if there is anything in blue blood or family tradition let it inspire you with the ambition to be not idlers or dreamers, a burden upon the community, but strong and steadfast men, respecting yourselves and respected of others, and taking your proper place as leaders of the people, in virtue of your own good qualities and character, and to the credit of the family to which you have the honour to belong. You cannot do this unless you are able to hold

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.

your own in the rough and tumble of the world about you, and the first essential is education. You have spoken in appreciative terms of the sympathy of Sir John Hewett, whom we are all so sorry to be losing after his long and distinguished career in India, and I can assure you that the Government will always be ready to foster and assist any efforts you may make in the direction I have indicated. I thank you, Gentlemen, for your cordial expressions of loyalty, and for your friendly words of welcome, and I thank you especially for the kindly references you have made to my grandfather's work in India.

## THE TALUQDARS OF OUDH

*[The Taluqdars of Oudh gave a brilliant entertainment to Lord Hardinge Sir John and Lady Hewett and the principal civil and military residents attended The following is the text of His Excellency's speech on the occasion] —*

TALUQDARS OF OUDH,—I cannot tell you with what great pleasure I have listened to the Address which you have just presented to me. Throughout this Indian Empire there is, I have every reason to believe, a spirit of confidence and trust in the British Administration and of loyalty to His Gracious Majesty's throne and person, but there is no part of India where that spirit is more deeply rooted than here, and there is no body of men who have given greater proof of its existence among them than you who represent the aristocracy of this Province. I need not tell you then how glad I am to have this opportunity of meeting you and making your acquaintance You have truly said that the recent visit of Their Imperial Majesties has left a permanent and abiding mark upon

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

the political and social conditions of the people of India, and I am grateful for your congratulations upon the very great honour conferred upon myself and for your kindly references to my own part in the labours which made their visit so great a success. That it was a success I do not think that the most captious critic would deny, and I know that Their Imperial Majesties themselves were pleased beyond measure at those few crowded days they spent among their people in India and left our shores with feelings of sadness and regret. Much of that success was due to the indefatigable exertion of your Lieutenant Governor and the band of chosen men who worked with him and under him for the organisation of the Delhi Durbar and its attendant ceremonies. To them and to those in Calcutta and Bombay, and elsewhere, who worked so strenuously we all owe a debt of gratitude that they should have made it possible to give our Sovereign Lord the King-Emperor a welcome worthy of India.

In your Address you have referred to the benefits of a settled Government and to the sympathetic rule of your present Lieutenant-Governor, and I feel sure that you must all



lament with me that India is, in a few short months, to lose the benefit of his ripe experience and mature judgment. Sir John Hewett can look back through a long vista of years devoted to this country, which have brought in their train grave responsibilities, worthily fulfilled, and when he leaves us full of years and honour we shall unite in wishing him a hearty god-speed.

The British Government have always been careful to respect your rights, and maintain your privileges, and they have had their reward in your steadfast loyalty, which has shone out with undiminished brightness when the political sky has been clouded, as it has in some of the years not so far gone by. The clouds have nearly gone, and the horizon is bright with hope, which bids fair for the advance of India along the path of enlightened progress. But whatever the future may betide, whether sunshine or storm, I feel sure that the old tradition of loyalty and good faith which has so long been a bond between yourselves and the Government may be relied upon as one of the strongest assets of British Rule in India.

I cannot conclude without thanking you most heartily for your kind reception. I only

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.

say is that no one possibly liked and respected him more than I did. Combined with a magnificent brain and a forceful character, he had great kindness and sympathy of heart, qualities which endeared him to all those who knew and understood him. Petty jealousy and meanness had no place in his character, and it might be said of him, as was written by Pope of an eminent English statesman—

“Statesman yet friend to truth, of soul  
sincere,

In action faithful, and in honour clear,

Who broke no promise and served no  
private end.”

After more than thirty years spent in the Presidency of Bombay, during which period he occupied some of the highest posts held by Civilians, he was appointed Member for the Home Department of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In that capacity I am able to bear testimony to his Imperial patriotism, to his high sense of loyalty to his colleagues and friends, to his conciliatory attitude in all matters connected with the Home Department, his invariable desire to set wrong right, and his constant wish to forget and to obliterate the memory of

all that during the last few years is best forgotten. Quite recently the Secretary of State had appointed him Member of his Council in London, and great as I felt his loss would be to me and to the Government of India, I gladly welcomed the appointment of Sir John Jenkins to London, as I fully realised that in the ever-changing conditions of this great Empire, his presence and advice would always be in harmony with the legitimate sentiments and aspirations of the people of India. Just as his prospects of happiness and usefulness to India and to England were brightest, death has claimed him, and although it is not for any of us to question the will of Providence, we may with reason give expression to our profound regret at the loss we have all sustained. To me, personally, he was a most loyal and devoted colleague and friend, whose experience and knowledge of India and her people were as extensive as they were priceless to India. In my opinion his loss is irreparable. To Lady Jenkins and her family, we all, I am sure, pour out our deep and heartfelt sympathy in their bereavement. May she find comfort and consolation in her sore distress, and may the soul of our late colleague and friend rest in peace !

## **SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.**

regret that Lady Hardinge, owing to the illness of her brother, could not be with me to share with me the pleasure of this visit, and of this magnificent entertainment which you have provided for our enjoyment.

## TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SIR JOHN JENKINS

[*H E the Viceroy presided at the Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Calcutta on the 23rd February, and before the proceedings of the Council began, His Excellency made the following speech*] —

Since the last occasion on which the Council met in this place and while the hearts of all were still beating with the joy and enthusiasm created by the visit of Their Imperial Majesties to Calcutta, a sudden reminder reached us of the inexorable character of the laws of Nature, and death unexpectedly deprived India and the Government of India of one of their most valued and trusted servants. It was only two days before Their Imperial Majesties left Calcutta for Bombay that Sir John Jenkins was present at the meeting of my Executive Council, apparently in the best of health, and yet a week later he had breathed his last. There are probably many here who know Sir John Jenkins much longer than I knew him, some who even knew him better, but all I can

## THE CALCUTTA CLUB BANQUET.

*[At the dinner given by the Members of the Calcutta Club on the 1st March 1912, H. E. said] —*

GENTLEMEN,—It is a very great pleasure to me to meet here to-night so many members of this Club, which is typical of the harmony and mutual esteem which every Viceroy and every friend of India must wish to see prevail between Englishmen and Indians of all classes and in every rank of life throughout the great country, and it is for that reason I wish every success and prosperity to the Calcutta Club. It is a further satisfaction to me that I have been honoured by an invitation here to night, since I do not anticipate that I shall be in a position to accept hospitality at a similar gathering in Calcutta in a year's time from now. Finding myself here in the midst of friends leads me to say a few words on a matter of some delicacy, in which, I will, in any case, endeavour to avoid the controversial aspect. Although I have no sympathy with intemperate language, I frankly admit that I have a genuine sympathy for the sentiments of all those who feel that

they and Calcutta generally, have lost something by the transfer of the Capital to Delhi. I hope and trust that a few years hence they will be able to modify their opinion, and will realise that there have been compensating advantages and that their loss has not been so great as they now anticipate

Viceroy's are also human and have feelings like other people I confess that I have, during the past three months, had a feeling of deep regret at the prospect of abandoning Calcutta as my official head quarters This is the second cold weather that my wife and I have lived amongst you We have been extremely happy we have enjoyed the blessing of good health and have been so fortunate as to count many friends in Calcutta Ever since my arrival in India I have liked Calcutta, with which city I have many family ties and traditions, since no less than four successive generations of my family have lived at various times in Calcutta since the year 1844 Although I shall be a thousand miles away, my interest in Calcutta and its future prosperity and the development of Calcutta will never wane, and I feel confident that when the term of my Viceroyalty is completed, I shall be able to look back upon

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a peaceful and contented Bengal and a prosperous and ever-increasing Calcutta, under the fostering care of a very able and popular Governor.

I thank you warmly, gentlemen, for the great hospitality extended to me to-night, and for the very kind manner in which you have received the toast of my health



## THE CONVOCATION ADDRESS

[*The Comocation of the Calcutta University was held on 16th March, 1912 H E the Viceroy in his capacity of Chancellor delivered the following Address*] —

VICE CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Of the positions which it falls to a Viceroy to fill, there is none that I value more highly than the Chancellorship of the Calcutta University, and that because, as Chancellor, I come into direct relation with the rising generation on whose sound education the future of India so greatly depends. I am glad by my presence here this afternoon to show the interest which I take in your progress, and to have the opportunity of addressing a few words to the graduates and students assembled in this hall. It is all the more a satisfaction to me to be present here to day, in view of the possibility that circumstances may prevent me from being present next year at a similar Convocation. I am anxious, moreover, to declare to you all that, although separated by space and distance, I shall, so

long as I remain in this country, proudly value the post that I hold of the Chancellor of this University, and that it will be to me a source of pride that I am able to maintain a close connection with the intellectual side of Calcutta. I need hardly say that it will be my constant aim and endeavour to watch over and to assist the intellectual development of this great University, and the moral and material welfare of its students. Whatever may be the political changes of the present or of the future, I have absolute confidence in the power of this University to hold its own and to lead the way in the development of higher education to a much higher plane than exists at present either in this or any other University in India. I should like also to take this opportunity of conveying to the Vice Chancellor of this University the warm congratulations of us all on the high honour that has been bestowed upon him recently by our King Emperor, together with an expression of our earnest hope that he may long be spared to enjoy his well-earned and well merited honour.

Since we met at the last Convocation we have lost some good friends and supporters. I may mention, in particular, the retirement of

Mr Hugh Melville Percival and Mr Lamb, and the lamented death of Mr John Arthur Cunningham It will not be easy to fill the place vacated by Mr Percival For more than 31 years he was a Professor in the Presidency College, giving of his best in knowledge and care to successive generations of students, while as a member of the Syndicate and a member of various Boards of studies he rendered service of exceptional value and brought to bear a judgment which was never swayed by any other than academic considerations Mr Lamb, Principal of the Scottish Churches College, worked assiduously for the University as a member of the Syndicate and of various Boards of Studies He was keenly interested in the moral and intellectual welfare of his students who valued his sympathy in their difficulties The early death of Mr Cunningham has deprived us of a brilliant and enthusiastic worker whose ideals and sympathy for Indian students early won him respect and affection in many quarters And there are others too whose loss the Universities have to mourn or who have left India never to return to their places We know them no more, but their influence and example live after them and

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inspire those who follow in their footsteps to carry on the great work which they, in their time and according to their opportunity, helped forward

Were I asked, Gentlemen, in what direction the currents of opinion and activity in our Universities are setting at the present time, I should reply unhesitatingly that they are converging on the fuller realisation of the idea of a teaching and residential University. In saying this, I would not wish to imply, in any way, failure on the part of this University in its task of coping with the provision of adequate facilities for the entire body of students under its jurisdiction, but with Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee I would say that both the teaching in the Colleges and the residential arrangements are capable of very great development and improvement, especially upon the lines which he has indicated in the very interesting and instructive speech to which we have just listened. We are not blind to the good work which the existing Universities have done in their day. We are justly proud of their achievements. But we cannot be insensible to the change that has come throughout the atmosphere. Distance has been reduced by improved communi-

cations, centres of population have grown up pulsating and throbbing with new aspirations, some appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. The old dividing barriers are breaking down, and we feel the need for greater union and closer co operation. We want to develop an identity and a character of our own. The modern Universities of Europe have well been described as the nurseries and workshops of intellectual life.

We want all that this description implies in India. At the present time the Universities Act of 1904 has prepared the way. That measure was keenly debated at the time, but a few people are insensible to its beneficent character. Now it imposed, as an obligation, the systematic inspection of Colleges, and it facilitated the creation of University Professors and Lecturers for the cultivation of right studies. Indirectly, also it foreshadowed the beginnings of a residential system. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of inspection by maintaining continuity of standard on the one hand and disclosing the needs of the Colleges on the other. It draws together the Universities and the Colleges, and invigorates them both. The future historian of India will

assuredly ascribe to the Universities Act a strong dynamic and vitalising influence on our system of Higher education, under the able and effective guidance of our Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, whose re appointment has, I know, given widespread satisfaction and on whose expert assistance we shall rely in the forthcoming revision of the Regulations Under his guidance the Calcutta University has made considerable progress in the directions indicated by the Act For inspection we have a whole time salaried officer, and we have been able to associate with him the Professors of different Colleges, to whom we owe a great debt of gratitude for the invaluable services which they have rendered without remuneration and often at much personal inconvenience There has been marked improvement, especially in the teaching of science, thanks largely to the liberal grants made by the Government of India, to the University and to Colleges The Colleges are, however, still deficient in accommodation, equipment, apparatus and libraries All these are deserving and important objects on which expenditure must be increased in the near future, if we are to maintain a rising standard of education.

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we have the Minto Professor of Economics, who is a whole time University Professor. We have also maintained Lecturers on Comparative Philology, Sanskrit, Pali, English and Mathematics for the benefit of a student in other branches, such as History, Philosophy and Economics. We have been assisted in our efforts by distinguished Professors of affiliated Colleges, who, in addition to their regular work, have voluntarily undertaken to impart instruction to M. A. students during the last four years. Also the University has from time to time appointed readers on special subjects to foster investigations of important branches of learning amongst our advanced students. One of these readers, Mr. Sen, has embodied his lectures on the history of the Bengalee language and literature from the earliest times to the middle of the 18th century in a volume of considerable merit, which he is about to supplement by another original contribution to the history of one of the most important vernaculars of this country. May I express the hope that this example will be followed elsewhere, and that critical schools may be established for the vernacular languages of India, which have not as yet received the attention that they deserve.

## THE CONVOCATION ADDRESS

During the last year the University has published the Readership lectures delivered by Professor Schutes and Dr Walker, which have been acclaimed in Europe as works of great value and merit. I cannot, however, regard the present facilities for higher studies as at all sufficient when not a few students who wish to take the degree of Master of Arts have to be turned away for want of accommodation. That our students are capable of higher work I have no doubt. I am informed that three research studentships on the Premchand Foundation have recently been awarded on Mathematics, Chemistry and Indian Antiquities, to students all of whom were pronounced by the Examiners to evince special merit. The awards which have been made of the Coates Memorial prize and the Darbhanga Memorial Scholarship indicate that there are capable men, able and willing, in the Medical Faculty to carry on research work. In addition to this, the large number of essays submitted for the Griffith Memorial Prize makes it patent that many of our graduates are engaged in advanced study and research. It is very important that we should turn out good M A's in sufficient numbers. Otherwise it will be



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difficult to find capable lecturers for our Colleges, or to provide adequately for research. Impressed by these considerations, which are not peculiar to the Calcutta University, and remembering the stirring words which His Imperial Majesty addressed to the Members of our Senate, the Government of India have decided to make a solid advance in the direction of teaching and residential Universities. They have allotted a recurring grant of Rs 3 lakhs a year, of which the Calcutta Universities will receive Rs 65,000 a year for the appointment of University Professors and Lecturers in special subjects, and for the encouragement in other ways of higher studies and research. They have allotted non recurring grants amounting to Rs 16 lakhs, of which the Calcutta University will receive Rs 4 lakhs for the provision of University buildings, libraries and equipment. In addition, a special grant of Rs 10 lakhs has been reserved for Hostels accommodation in Calcutta, which will be non Collegiate in character. Another sum of Rs 10 lakhs has been allotted for the development of accommodation in Dacca and the buildings required for the New University in that place. I hope that the liberality of

Government will be supplemented by private liberality, and that before many years have passed efficient teaching Universities will take the place of the examining and federal Universities which we have to-day

I also hope, as I have already said, that teaching and residential Universities may be multiplied throughout India, for I believe that they will do great things for the improvement of Higher Education. I trust that I have said enough to convince you how closely at heart the Government of India have the development of the Indian Universities on sound modern lines. We have also drawn up a scheme for the creation of an Oriental Research Institute at Delhi, which will, it is hoped, give new life to the critical study of Orientalism and train up a class of teachers who will carry to the highest point possible the study of Indian antiquities and the classical languages of India. At the same time we are considering measures for the preservation and encouragement of the indigenous learning of the country. In time I hope that it will be possible to develop very considerably the Oriental Faculties in Universities, but the opinion of the distinguished Orientalists who came to Simla last year was almost

unanimous that a commencement should be made, in the first instance, with a central Research Institute, and this, indeed, is supported by experience in other countries. In his address to the Convocation last year the Vice-Chancellor impressed upon us the need for the better preparation of our students in the Secondary English schools. This is a matter which has long engaged the attention of the Government of India. It is obvious that, if our students come up to College inadequately trained, an undue burden is thrown upon the Colleges, and progress is retarded, at any rate, *for the first two years of the College course*. Definite schemes of improvement are already under consideration, and a recurring grant of Rs 6 lakhs a year has been allotted from Imperial revenues for the improvement of education in Aided Secondary Schools. I hope earnestly that funds may be hereafter available to push forward this most necessary reform. When we have our Higher studies provided in the schools housed in comfort and decency, and in sanitary surroundings, under conditions of discipline and with helpful guidance at hand, we may look forward to the future with some assurance and stoutness of heart.

I sometimes notice in the Press and on the platform statements indicative of impatience at the rate of progress, or at the selection of the particular line of advance that has been chosen at any moment. I can only assure you that we have in view a policy which embraces every branch of education, technical education, primary education and female education, and which as schemes mature and funds become available, we desire to carry through in consultation with Local Governments. I would ask you to be patient for a while. It is not possible to accomplish everything at once, but I think you will agree that we have made a substantial beginning this year. Before I conclude I am glad to be able to announce that Babu Ananthnath Deb, a scion of a well-known family in Calcutta, has just given the University a sum of Rs. 30,000 the interest on which is to be devoted to a Research Prize in Law, and two Gold Medals for the best Bengali poem and the best Bengali essay written by the lady graduates of the University. On behalf of the University, I thank him, and I trust that others will follow his enlightened example.

It only remains for me to address a few

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words to those who have received their Degrees to day, amongst whom I am glad to notice no fewer than 13 ladies. Remember that your education does not end with a Degree. Your education hitherto has only been preparatory for the larger and sterner education of life and contact with your fellowmen. It is my earnest desire that you may be useful and loyal citizens leading prosperous and happy lives. And to you, students, who are working for your future Degrees, I would say —Be assiduous in your studies, remembering always that it is not by brilliant flashes but by sustained effort that success in life is attained. Lead healthy and vigorous lives seeking after the best and highest ideals and eschewing all that is decadent and corrupt. Let the message of hope left by our King Emperor inspire you to make greater efforts in the future for your own intellectual moral and physical improvement never forgetting the debt of duty that you owe to your own country. In this way you will fit yourselves for the high responsibilities of citizenship which is the corner stone of the great edifice upon which this Empire is based. My concluding words to you are —Be true to your God, true to your Emperor, true to your

## THE CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

country, and true to yourselves. Follow these precepts and have no fear for the future of your country or of yourselves.

## THE BUDGET DEBATE OF 1912

*In closing the Debate H E The Viceroy said —*

Following the example of some honourable members I should like as the head of the Government to associate myself with the views of those who have expressed appreciation of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson and Sir James Meston. I share the hope that Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson will return invigorated by his stay abroad and restored to health so that he may be able to complete his full term of service. As regards Sir James Meston, although it has been a great pleasure to me to appoint him to so high and important a post, the honourable members can well understand, I am sure, what a loss he will be to me and the Government of India as Secretary in the Finance Department. I need not go into the question of his great but unassuming ability, but I am confident that his work and services will be to the great advantage of India in whatever position he is employed.

There is only one point in other matters to which I would like to draw attention,

## THE BUDGET DEBATE OF 1913.

and that is this, although I am determined to permit no measure in connection with the Dacca University that might be interpreted as a measure of partition, and although Mr. Basu has given expression to my own personal views, we have yet to know the view of the new Governor of Bengal on questions of detail, and still more of the Secretary of State.

We have now come to the end of another year, a year of historic memory, but it is the financial features of the year which have the first claim upon our thoughts. In the Budget I see a gratifying picture of India's economic strength. Famine came very near our doors in the autumn of last year, but its heavy hand has been withdrawn from all but a few affected tracts in Bombay. Plague still scourges a patient and much-enduring people in parts of the country, but the measures for repelling it are steadily growing in knowledge and efficiency, and what is worth even more is the cordiality of co-operation between our officers and those whom they endeavour to help. And so we have reached another milestone, and we pass onwards into the coming year, under the hand of Providence, in confidence and hope. The Finance Minister, in opening his



Budget, reviewed the progress of the last three years I also have been tempted by his example to indulge in a retrospect, but I have been looking a little further back than he has done I have been looking back to the days when our Indian revenues were clouded by two great shadows, the fall in exchange and the fear of invasion from our North-West Frontier The era of our modern finance began about twelve years ago It was an era of prosperity, high surpluses and reforming activity, but it was dominated by the two great evils Our exchange troubles, it is true, passed away in 1899, and I trust that, under skilful guidance, they will not return Their consequences, however, remained in the high taxation that had been imposed to meet them, in the pinching of our administration and in the poverty of Provincial Governments All this had to be put to rights Moderation had to be restored to our taxes Money had to be furnished for our more backward Departments, particularly for the improvement of Police The finances of the Local Governments had to be placed on a sounder and more stable basis To these objects the energies of my predecessors were bent, and much of their

## THE BUDGET DEBATE OF 1912.

surplus revenues were dedicated. Meanwhile, a heavy toll was being taken on our revenues by the other incubus which I have mentioned, the defence of our Frontier, and the preparation of our Army for war formed the second outstanding feature of the period that I am reviewing. Lord Kitchener matured his scheme for the reorganisation of our military strength, and large sums of money were devoted to it for a series of years.

Looking then at the position broadly, we see how two great cycles of expenditure filled the rich years between the famine of 1899 and the crisis of 1907. The sequels of our currency troubles provided one. Our military anxieties provided the other. The two overlapped, and between them they swallowed up the fruits of our prosperity. The situation has now entirely changed. The dark shadows that lay over us have passed away. Our taxation has been lightened. The resources of Local Governments have been strengthened. Exchange is stable, and, however much opinions may differ on points of detail, I believe that the basis of our currency policy is secured in public confidence. So also with our military dispositions. The momentous change that the Russian Agreement

brought into our relations with our great Asiatic neighbour removed the menace on our Frontier, and the rapid growth of our Army expenditure has now been checked and curtailed. At first these improvements were obscured by the financial collapse of 1907 and our slow recovery from its effects. But with care and economy, our finances are restored to health.

The sky is clear so far as the human eye can judge, and we are ready for our next advance. On what lines shall we proceed, and for what goal shall we strain? To that question my answer is clear and unhesitating. We have secured the defence of the country. We have removed our great handicap in international trade. It is now our duty to turn all our energies to the uplifting of our people. To that task we are giving freely in the Budget which you have discussed to-day. Is it too much to hope that it will be the dominant policy of the coming years? The Finance Member told the Council of the hopes that rose in my mind when first I took charge of my high office. By those hopes I still abide, and in them I am more than ever confirmed. It is only by the spread of knowledge and by the resolute struggle against avoidable disease and

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death that India can rise among the nations. It is with this ideal that I sincerely trust our finances will remain in touch. The path will not always be smooth. Funds cannot always be available or enthusiasm always fervid, but we have made a beginning, and we cannot now turn back.

I will not say more on the subject of finance, but before this Council adjourns and its Members return to their homes, there are some other matters upon which I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to say a few words to the Members of my Legislative Council. When closing the Budget debate last year, I dwelt on the approaching visit of Their Imperial Majesties the King Emperor and Queen Empress to India and the measures that we were already taking to ensure the success of their visit. Since then Their Imperial Majesties have come, and after a happy time, full of mutual esteem and affection towards their Indian subjects, have returned to their English home. I will not dwell here upon the splendid pageants of the Coronation Durbar or the cordial reception granted to Their Majesties in Bombay and Calcutta, but I will only say that the expression I used last year, *viz*, "a tidal

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wave of enthusiasm" was a very inadequate description of the stream of loyal enthusiasm and respectful reverence which broke through every heart and flooded the country and all classes of the population with joy and gladness at the presence of Their Majesties amongst them. It was only one proof of the undeniable fact that this vast Empire will yield to none in its loyalty and homage to the Throne.

The past year may well be described as an *annus mirabilis*, and owing to the beneficent administrative changes announced by the King Emperor at Delhi, it will leave a lasting mark upon the history of India. We are confident that the beneficial results of those changes will eventually exceed all expectation, will introduce an era of peace and contentment, and will be to the advantage of better government and more efficient administration. In five days' time three new Provinces will come into existence, with complete full powers, with the exception of the Province of Behar and Orissa, which will have to wait for a few weeks, in accordance with the Law, for the creation of an Executive Council. All I wish to say to the three reconstituted Provinces is "Go forward and prosper and justify the policy of the Government of India by the

maintenance of peace and order within your boundaries " The tranquillity that happily prevails in Bengal, as compared with the situation of the past few years, and even of a year ago, is already a striking and undeniable proof of the wisdom of the policy of the Government of India. As regards the transfer of the capital to Delhi, we fully realise the heavy responsibility entailed in the creation of a new Imperial city that shall be worthy of this Empire, and which shall meet the requirements of a great Capital with a careful but not too parsimonious supervision of the expenditure required to achieve a really satisfactory result. The creation of this new city is a matter in which I am taking, and shall continue to take, a very keen personal interest, and I have been in correspondence with Lord Crewe to send here, as soon as possible the best Sanitary Engineer, Town Planner Architect and Landscape Gardener that he can find to draw up plans for the new city. They will leave England in a few days time. When acceptable plans have been prepared, the moment will arrive to call in architects to provide suitable designs and estimates for the New Government buildings, and these will require very careful selection

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and supervision My own personal inclination is towards an Oriental Style of architecture which should be in unison with local surroundings and with climatic conditions I am well aware that criticisms have been levelled at the Government of India for having cited a fixed sum as the probable cost of the new capital, and that certain people have mentioned that ten to fourteen millions or more are likely to be expended than the more modest sum of four millions named by the Government I do not know upon what basis these estimates have been framed but I can only regard them as exaggerated and fantastic A little thought as to what land, Government buildings, roads, drainage, water supply, etc, will, at the outset, be required for the new City would convince any unbiased person that the cost will approximate for more nearly to the Government estimate than to these exaggerated figures For example, when I was in Delhi a few days ago, I saw what appeared to me a desirable site I made enquiry into the cost of acquiring a space of 30 square miles embracing this area I found that it would cost, roughly speaking, Rs 30 lakhs to Rs 35 lakhs Now, irresponsible critics have probably

not taken into account the cheapness of land at Delhi, which, after all, is a well-known fact, although most of the land in question is covered with rich and luxuriant crops. Lime, bricks and splendid stone, the same as that used by the Moghul Emperors, are to be found absolutely on the spot, while the Mekkana marble quarries are only 200 miles distant on a direct line of railway. These facts naturally conduce to reduce the expenditure, but they, again, have been probably ignored by our amiable critics. Then, again, I know that the Government buildings and the Civil Station at Dacca cost under Rs 70 lakhs. I know also that the estimated expenditure on a handsome scale for Government buildings and Civil Station at Bankipore is under Rs 1 crore. Are we wrong, therefore, in considering that we can do the same at the New Delhi on a much more magnificent scale for Rs 6 crores? The Government have, of course, no intention of themselves building private residences, shops, business premises, etc. On the other hand, they hope to obtain a good return for land sold to private individuals on reasonable terms for building leases. I, therefore, do not at all regret that the Government



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of India mentioned a fixed sum of four millions sterling, i.e., Rs 6 crores, as a probable cost of Delhi, which amount, I have good reason to believe, will, with proper care and supervision, be in the end but little, if at all, exceeded by the time that the city is built. I hope that these facts may reassure people in India and serve to correct the irresponsible statements made by interested persons.

We all know the adage that Rome was not built in a day, and, however hard we may work, it will take some years before the new city can be completed. In the meantime, we are making arrangements for the temporary accommodation of the Government of India at Delhi during the next cold weather and for the meeting there of this Council. Although I fear that owing to the fortune of war in the approaching election campaign, some familiar friends and faces may be absent when we meet next year at Delhi, I trust that nobody of my Council will take too seriously to heart the grave forebodings of certain organs of the Press in which Delhi is described as being afflicted with the ten plagues of Egypt. I bid those who are timid be stout of heart, to realise that, in spite of these blood curdling stories, the

death-rate of Delhi is no more than that of Lucknow, and to remember that Delhi is one of the towns of Northern India where the increase of population has, during the last twenty years, been both steady and progressive.

I should now like to turn your thoughts for a few minutes to external affairs in which the interests of a very large and influential section of the community are sentimentally, though indirectly, affected. I do not wish to touch on the question of the war between Turkey and Italy beyond expressing our profound regret that hostilities should be in progress between two countries so friendly disposed towards Great Britain, and to add that I happen to know that His Majesty's Government have, in conjunction with other Powers, already taken steps to mediate with a view to securing an honourable peace. When, however, it appeared that there was likelihood of hostilities being extended by the Italian naval forces to Jeddah and Yembo, I immediately drew the attention of His Majesty's Government to the very serious anxiety that would be created by an attack upon the ports leading to the holy cities of Islam, and by an interference with the pilgrim traffic to those ports. Representations were at once

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made to the Italian Government by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and satisfactory assurances were obtained

Having already mentioned the friendly disposition of Turkey towards Great Britain, I should like to inform the members of my council of a significant incident which occurred only a few days ago, and which I only learnt yesterday. The King received, on the 21st instant, a special Mission from the Sultan of Turkey, consisting of the Turkish Ambassador, the Councillor and the two Secretaries of the Turkish Embassy and Rechid Bey (Counsellor Legiste of the Sublime Porte), who presented to His Majesty an autograph letter from the Sultan, and also the Order of the Hamedan-Al-Orman and the Order of the Imtiaz, conferred on the King as a fresh proof of the Sultan's desire to strengthen the friendly relations and cordial ties now existing between the two Empires, and a special mark of His Imperial Majesty's sincere friendship towards the King. The point is that the almost unprecedented distinction of the simultaneous conferment of these two Orders by the Sultan on His Majesty the King-Emperor is a striking act of confidence and good will which I am sure

will be appreciated by the Mahomedans of India

In Persia, the situation during the past two years has been as unsatisfactory-as possible in so far as British and Indian interests are concerned. In the south of Persia anarchy reigns supreme, the Persian Government having neither power nor authority, while order in the Gulf Ports is maintained chiefly by the presence of the British India Squadron. In the Persian Gulf, British and Indian trade interests have suffered severe losses, many caravans having been robbed and the muleteers killed by tribesmen, so that no caravans can now proceed in safety along the main trade routes. Within only the last few days 150 Indian troops have had to be landed at Lingah to protect the Consulate and British and Indian lives and property from the threatened attack of 2,100 tribesmen. Six months ago owing to an attack made upon the British Consulate at Shiraz, which I may add was very bravely repulsed by a small handful of Indian troops acting as Consular Guards, it was decided to strengthen the escorts at Bushire, Shiraz and Ispahan, and four Squadrons of the Central India Horse were sent to Persia for distribu-

tion between these towns and for the protection of British and Indian life and property. Shortly afterwards, when the British Consul at Shiraz was proceeding with a caravan of specie belonging to the Imperial Bank of Persia escorted by half a squadron of the Central India Horse, they were attacked by the very men who were employed by the Persian Government as road guards, and they lost a few men killed and wounded, amongst the latter being the British Consul. The ordinary course under such circumstances would be to demand from the Persian Government the punishment of the offenders and reparation. Such a course under the existing circumstances is not likely to produce much result and the only alternative course would be to take the Law into one's own hands and to send a Punitive Expedition. To act on such lines there would, in my opinion, be serious objection since it might involve us in a situation in Southern Persia from which it might be difficult to extricate ourselves, and which might eventually lead to the partition of Persia. Such a policy is strictly opposed to the views of the Government of India, whose hope and desire is that the integrity and independence of Persia may remain unimpaired.

In view, however, of the necessity of looking after our own interests, we propose, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to entrust our Resident at Bushire to open negotiations with the tribes for the punishment of those who led the attack upon our envoy and for the proper guarding and security of the British and Indian caravans passing along the main trade routes of the South. This explanation of our policy will, I trust, dispel the fears of those who have imagined that we had leanings towards the partition of Persia with Russia. We have, I maintain, acted with much patience under circumstances of great provocation and our one hope is that we may yet see 'peace and order restored in Southern Persia in the near future. Further, there are, I know, certain critics who declaim against the Anglo Russian Agreement in connection with Persia, and ask of what use it can be in view of the presence of Russian troops in Northern Persia. To those critics I would reply that the fundamental basis of the Anglo Russian Agreement is the independence and integrity of Persia, and so long as we are a signatory to that Agreement we are able to exercise a moral influence on our co signa-

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tory where we could not use material pressure. Russians have not entered Teheran, and within the last few weeks they have been withdrawn from Kasvin. It is my own conviction that were this Agreement not in force, the partition of Persia would already be an accomplished fact.

Nearer home and actually on our North East borders, we have had to send a small Punitive Expedition against some tribes of Abor who last spring murdered Mr Williamson, an able young official, and his party under circumstances of great treachery. The remains of Mr Williamson have been partly recovered, and some of those implicated in this murder have been captured. Advantage was taken of the presence of the Expedition to survey a considerable tract of country which was absolutely unknown. The Expedition, having achieved its object, is now returning home.

Although the Government of India have been so fortunate as not to be engaged in any tribal war on the North-West Frontier, during the past few years, we have quite recently been nearly in conflict with the Mahsuds. This tribe has, during the past year suffered terribly from famine, and in order to give them

employment and to save them from being driven by hunger to become a nuisance to their neighbours, we obtained authority from the Secretary of State to commence work on a proposed railway from Pezu to Tonk. Upon this line 2,500 Mahsuds have for some time been employed. A certain section of the tribe that was hostile has tried to create trouble and has destroyed one of our roads. This caused some unrest on the Frontier, necessitating the moving up of troops to meet all eventualities. Happily, the Mahsuds employed on the railway realised the advantages of their situation, drove off their fellow-tribesmen and repaired the roads. I think we may congratulate ourselves that this small railway, of which the construction will be profitable in the future, has saved us from a tribal war on the Frontier.

Now turning to the affairs nearer home, and particularly to the work of my Legislative Council during the past session, I think that I may say with some pride and satisfaction that the debates that have taken place have reached a higher standard of statesmanship and efficiency than has ever been previously attained. They have taken place with a self-restraint and a mutual courtesy and good-fellowship that will



be a model to all Legislative bodies. Many Resolutions of various kinds have been brought forward by Non-Official Members and their views have been set forth with explicit clearness and much force. The fact that a large majority of these resolutions have been negatived by the Government is no reason for regarding these discussions as sterile or a waste of time. On the contrary, I regard them as most beneficial, since not only do they present an opportunity for the Government to hear the views of Hon'ble Members from every part of the country, and thereby to acquire much useful local information, but they enable the Government to explain clearly their own views and to give publicity to their reasons for not acceding to them. The Government must clearly be a moderating influence and restraining force, advancing steadily on the path of reform and development, with every care for the various interests of the millions entrusted to their charge. If all the Resolutions that were proposed were accepted and became law to-morrow, they would assuredly give place to others probably of a more advanced type, and with progress at this rate India would soon be in the melting pot. Consequently, I see every

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advantage in the discussions that have taken place in this Council. They are, in my opinion, extremely educative and will, I am sure, bear fruit in due season.

With these few words, I wish you all a happy return to your homes, and I declare this session closed.

## UNVEILING SIR ANDREW FRASER'S STATUE

*[The Statue of Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal from 1903 to 1908, erected in the Dalhousie Square, Calcutta, was unveiled on the 5th March, 1912, by H E the Viceroy in the presence of a large assembly His Excellency spoke as follows] —*

Ladies and Gentlemen—I had not the pleasure of Sir Andrew Fraser's personal acquaintance, but I have tried to find out from some of those who knew him best what sort of a man he was. He served the Indian Government, for over 37 years, and ended a distinguished career as the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. This high office in the best of times carries with it enough of care, toil and responsibility, but during Sir Andrew Fraser's Lieutenant-Governorship the burden was heavier than usual. It was a time of unrest both political and industrial, upon which it is no pleasure now to dwell. I believe that few Civilians have ever had greater sympathy for the people among whom and for whom they work. He put forth

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strenuous efforts to develop village Government in this Province and to resuscitate village institutions. He passed two great agrarian measures, the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act and the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act. The appeal of the suffering humanity found always a ready response in his heart, and he not only visited practically every hospital in the Province but devoted large grants from the Public expenditure to the improvement of the buildings, and equipment of medical institutions, alike in the mofussil and in the city of Calcutta. Between the services and Sir Andrew there was a bond of mutual respect and goodwill due to the frequent conferences which he initiated between the high officers of his Government, and I am told that there has seldom been a better understanding than existed in his time between the Secretariat and mofussil officers. One of the most marked characteristics of his administration lay in the intimate relations he established with the Chiefs and Nobles. He made them feel that the Government was their friend anxious to guide and help, and among them he had many personal friends, not least the Maharajah of Burdwan, who risked his life to save Sir Andrew's when an

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attempt upon it was made. To the non-officials he was most readily accessible, and he was not only glad to listen, but ready to inform, and long before the revised Councils were discussed he was an advocate of the more extended association of non-officials with the administration. This city will remember him as one who had a hand in all good works within its boundaries. In private life he was a God-fearing Christian who never lost his faith, who never lost his courage, who never lost his temper and never lost his affection for the people, and even now in his well-earned retirement he devotes his energies and his time to good works and philanthropic efforts. That, Gentlemen, is the man whose statue I shall now unveil, and I am proud to have that privilege.

## THE PESHAWAR MUNICIPALITY

*[An Address was presented by the Peshawar Municipal Committee and District Board to H E Lord Hardinge on 2nd April 1912, to which he replied thus] —*

Gentlemen,—First, let me thank you warmly for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me. I am not sure that I am entitled to any large measure of gratitude, for amid the arduous and unceasing duties which press upon a Viceroy during the greater part of the year, it is with feelings of pleasurable anticipation that I plan these tours, which bring me into close contact with the people whose interests are my constant care in offices far remote, and while it is a recurring delight to make a living acquaintance with the localities and the people whose names I know so well on paper, you can realize what a tremendous advantage it is to me to have seen them with mine own eyes, to have heard them with my own ears and to have entered and made my own their very atmosphere. It was with a sense of profound regret that I heard of the

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believe that in time the advantages to the Indian Empire as a whole will be recognised there I myself have left my English and Indian friends in Calcutta with many regrets and I can sympathise with those who at the first blush have felt that something has been taken from them I am keenly interested in the advance of education and sanitation and, if when I come to lay down the reins of office, I can feel that a real step has been taken in advance along these lines during my stay in India, it will be to me a source of immense gratification You have referred to the recurring grant of Rs 50 lakhs recently announced by His Imperial Majesty for this purpose, but the Government cannot do everything, and it is cheering to find that here you have realised this, and on your own account have raised so large a sum as Rs 8½ lakhs for the establishment of a School and a College We have shown our appreciation of your spirit by adding to your own collections an Imperial contribution of 2 lakhs I believe that the peace of this border has only once been broken, and that by a brief Expedition, since the constitution of this Province and our relations with the Frontier tribes are now most

the project and the skilful designs of the works; while to Messrs Mullaly, Bennett and Ives is due the chief credit for the actual construction, in the face of many difficulties of that portion of the scheme, which is not to come into operation. Nor must I omit the mention of the name of Mr Ashford, who has designed and constructed the iron of the headwork many features of which and especially the shutters, are novel. To Your Honour and to all these officers I offer my hearty congratulations. It will, I am sure, always be a source of pride and gratification to them and to all who worked with them to have been associated in the design and construction of this great work. I feel myself peculiarly fortunate in that to me should have fallen the honour of opening the first link in this great system of canals. Irrigation is one of the subjects which has constantly engaged the earnest attention of the Government of India. It is a subject to which Lord Curzon gave his special and unremitting attention. We should not forget that, while the development of Sir John Benton, and the band of keen Engineers who have laboured upon the idea which first gave it birth, was thrown into shape by the Irrigation Commission which was itself



the progeny of Lord Curzon's genius. Gentlemen, I sometimes think that the profession of an Engineer is one of the most attractive of all professions. Whatever be the work he is employed upon, he can see it growing under his hands, and while a statesman, a doctor or a lawyer can seldom be absolutely certain of the effect of the measures he may bring into play, of the remedies he may prescribe, or of the line of argument he may adopt, an Engineer can, as a rule, calculate with mathematical accuracy the strength and behaviour of the materials with which he has to deal and of the forces that may act upon them. I think, too, that the charm of his work must be greatly enhanced when it comes to the construction of an irrigational work like the one which we are to open to day, for then not only can he watch his creation growing under his hands, but there must also be an intense and peculiar satisfaction in the thought that every effort he makes is a step towards the fulfilment of a project, whereby one of the waste places of the earth shall be converted into a garden, where man may labour contentedly and count with confidence upon enjoying the fruits of his labour, and where the gaunt spectre of famine


shall for ever be laid to rest But, Gentlemen, even the rose of irrigation has its thorn, and before I proceed to open this canal, you will, I trust, pardon me if I venture upon a word of warning It is, I believe, to a dry and healthy climate and to the difficulties which had to be overcome in the past in winning a livelihood from a soil which depended for its water supply upon a light and precarious rainfall, that you people of the Punjab owe your fine physique and many sturdy and manly qualities Then believe they are a priceless heritage Do not, I pray you, part too readily or too completely from the conditions that have given them to you Do not I warn you, allow your lands to become sodden and water logged, your village sites and homesteads to be rendered damp and unwholesome, and your health and that of your children to be sapped and undermined by a too lavish use of the water which our canals place at your disposal With this word of warning, I proceed to open the Upper Chenab Canal May it prove to the people of the districts to be commanded by it a fruitful source of wealth, happiness and prosperity and an effectual and abiding protection against the evil of drought and famine

## PATIALA STATE BANQUET SPEECH.

*Lord Hardinge was entertained at a banquet by H. H. the Maharajah of Patiala in the Durbar Hall of the Palace in the Fort. His Excellency in acknowledging the toast of his health and proposing that of His Highness made the following speech] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—I have to thank you very cordially for the hearty way in which you have responded to the toast of my health and that of Lady Hardinge. I need not take you through the long history of the connection between the House of Patiala and the British Government, which began more than a century ago when Rajah Sahib Singh asked to be taken under protection against the encroachments of the then Government of Lahore, a connection to which this State owes no small portion of its importance, its wealth and its territories and from which the British Government have derived support, both moral and material, in many a crisis. In 1814, Patiala troops were serving with General Ochterlony during the Nepaul War. His Highness has himself referred in

kindly terms to the friendship between his family and my own, which began more than 60 years ago, when my grandfather was the Governor-General, and His Highness's great grandfather, as the Ruler of Patiala, had thrown in his lot with the British arms during the brief but sanguinary struggle of the first Sikh War, and again later in 1857 the services of Maharajah Narindar Singh were so conspicuous that the Commissioner wrote — "His support at such a crisis was worth a Brigade of English troops to us and served more to tranquillise the people than a hundred official disclaimers could have done." That was the man who was my grandfather's friend, and you can realise with what pleasurable anticipation I looked forward to meeting his great grandson and renewing the traditional friendship of our families. I am confident that the same friendship and loyalty that existed between my grandfather and Maharajah Narindar Singh will be extended by the present Maharajah to me and the Government of India.

I have watched with keen sympathy His Highness's career and I cannot but warmly applaud the sagacity with which he has selected as his Ministers two men  deals and

unchallenged probity, and on whose advice he can rely with absolute confidence amid the many pitfalls which beset a Ruler's path. His Highness may rest assured that he can always count on my warm sympathy and keen interest in his future. I need not remind some of those present here today that on no less than four occasions during the past half a century, Patiala has offered her troops for active service, and twice they actually went to the front and there maintained exemplary discipline and proved themselves to be excellent soldiers. From what I saw this morning of the very high standard of discipline and efficiency that her troops have attained and particularly her splendid Regiments of Imperial Service Troops, I am convinced that, if ever called upon, they will render in the future even more brilliant and loyal services than in the past.

Times are changing. In these days, I think I may say, they are changing rapidly. Education is spreading a new spirit among the peoples of India, and bringing in its train, I hope, loftier ideals and higher aspirations, but there is no doubt that here and there from time to time this development has given unhappy birth to a certain restlessness and discontent, which

on some occasions may take a form hostile to the Paramount Power, and I might almost say to all Governments and may require to be dealt with with a firm hand, but whatever the future may bring forth, whether it be peaceful progress or agitation or war, I feel confident that, as in the past so in the future, the British Government will ever find Patiala at their right hand, ready to support and assist, by its example, by its co-operation and if necessary, which God forbid, with its troops

His Highness's great grandfather was distinguished no less for the liberality of his administration than for his loyalty in the field, and I cannot refrain from mentioning the occasion on which he abolished transit duties at the suggestion of my grandfather's Government and refused to accept any compensation, sacrificing, as my grandfather phrased it, a present and apparent gain for future permanent good, for the welfare of his subjects and for the advancement of the interests of commerce. It was then that my grandfather recommended the increase of his salute to 17 guns, which Your Highness now enjoys, and I cannot do better than use to Your Highness the very words which my grand-

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father used to your great-grandfather "It is my earnest wish that Your Highness may long live to extend to your subjects the blessings of your Government and to your contemporaries the advantage of your generous example I feel confident that however long your life may be spared you will steadily persevere in that liberal course of policy, which in your youth and in the commencement of your rules you have had the wisdom to adopt "

In thanking His Highness for the attentive care he has bestowed upon our every comfort and the princely hospitality, with which he has entertained us during our visit that we are thoroughly enjoying, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the long life and happiness of H H the Maharajah of Patiala

## THE RAWALPINDI PUBLIC BODIES.

*[In replying to an address of Welcome from combined Public Bodies of the District on the 9th October 1912 Lord Hardinge said] —*

GENTLEMEN,—You have expressed your gratitude to me for consenting to receive this Address, but I think the thanks are rather due from me to you for your kindness in meeting us with these words of welcome, and both Lady Hardinge and myself are very grateful to you for the friendly greeting you have given us

There was doubtless a time in ancient days when the Punjab was a flourishing country with a fairly dense population, but India has proved a tempting bait to a succession of invaders and the path of all led them through the country of the Five Rivers so that from the very earliest period recorded in history the Punjab has been the scene of constant devastation and bloodshed. But out of evil good may spring, and we have to thank the continual strife of those early days for the tough fibre and virile characteristics of the popula-



tion which has furnished and continues to furnish the backbone of the Indian Army and has stood us in such a good stead on many a hard fought field

The history of the Punjab is, as you know, closely connected with my family through my grandfather, both in peace and war, and I should like to take this opportunity of saying what a very great pleasure it is to me to meet so many distinguished old soldiers here to day. The position of an Officer in the Indian Army carries with it the hall-mark of strong character, and their services have given them the habit of authority combined with the sense of discipline which are so essential in all administration. I have sometimes felt a sense of disappointment that larger numbers do not in their retirement find a place in the machinery of Government, and it is, therefore, with the keenest sense of satisfaction that I have learnt that of your two Benches of Honorary Magistrates no less than half are retired military Officers and that of you, gentlemen of the District Board, 20 per cent have a soldier's career behind you, while I hear of a few others holding honorary positions in the Forest and other Departments

## KASHMIR STATE BANQUET SPEECH

*[The following is the full text of H E the Viceroy's speech in reply to the toast of the health of Lord and Lady Hardinge proposed by His Highness the Maharajah of Cashmere at the State Banquet held at Srinagar] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the first place I must express my most cordial thanks and those of Lady Hardinge to Your Highness for the friendly sentiments which Your Highness has expressed towards us, the generous hospitality with which you have entertained us and the extremely kind manner in which you have proposed our health. It is a source of the greatest satisfaction to me to visit Kashmir, in which I have always had a special personal interest owing to the fact that it was my grandfather who, as Governor General of India, concluded the Treaty which conferred the State on Your Highness's grandfather, Maharajah Gulab Singh, in 1846. Though I had the pleasure of meeting Your Highness at Calcutta in 1910 soon after my arrival in India, and again at Delhi on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar last year, and at the opening, last spring, of one of the

branches of the triple Chenab Canal project, we have had a few opportunities of cementing the hereditary friendship of our families. The opportunity has now happily been offered to us in the most favourable circumstances, and it is my hope that we may yet have many more such opportunities during my stay in India. Though I have so far been able to see only the wayside beauty of Kashmir, I have seen enough to realise that it was with good reason that the Mughal Emperors for so many years made choice of this beautiful valley for their summer headquarters, and I know that His late Majesty King Edward VII long cherished, and Then Imperial Majesties King George and Queen Mary, who visited Jammu before their accession, still cherish, the most happy memories of the beauties of nature here so bountifully displayed and of the hospitality shown them by Your Highness. I consider myself fortunate to have the privilege of following in their footsteps.

Having some acquaintance with the history of the State, my journey along the Jhelum Valley has brought home to me the wonderful progress made by Kashmir since Your Highness succeeded to the *Gaddi* some twenty-seven

years ago. At that time Kashmir was connected with the plains of India by a mere mountain track. The construction of a metalled road along the hundred mile of the precipitous river gorges is a work reflecting the greatest credit on Your Highness's administration both on account of its own magnitude and difficulty and on account of the benefits that have resulted from its existence to the State and its inhabitants, and to the fortunate visitors from the plains of Hindustan. I could not fail to notice at the same time the appearance of happiness and prosperity of Your Highness's subjects that I met and the large convoys of agricultural produce that was being exported. On my way up that long road I was shown two other great enterprises undertaken in the more recent years of Your Highness's rule, the electric power station at Mahora and the great dredging work below Baramulla which utilises part of the electric power generated from the river to dredge the rocky bed of the Jhelum at its outlet from the valley. Such a feat, I believe, has hitherto been achieved nowhere else, and it may well be a just source of pride to Your Highness and to your State Engineer, Colonel de Lotbiniere. I hope that Your Highness is now in sight of the solution

of the problem of so lowering and regulating the bed of the Woollar Lake as to render possible not only the prevention of those floods which from time to time have devastated the valley (and in May this year I was grieved to learn of the loss of life and property due to this cause) but also the reclamation for cultivation of a large area of swampy land, and I trust that this may be done without impairing the cold weather water supply of the Jhelum which is of such vital importance to irrigation in the Punjab. These great works in themselves are evidence of the enterprise of the Ruler and will serve to perpetuate the name of Maharajah Sir Pratap Singh as a benefactor of his people. Such large productive works are evidence of the perspicacity of Your Highness in foreseeing the advantages to be gained from them by a never-ending succession of Your Highness's family on the *gaddi* of Kashmir. I hope, however, to see the day when still further progress will be made. The time must come when science will surmount the physical difficulties in the way of improved transport communication with the markets of India. When that day arrives, it will be possible to export at moderate cost the products of the valley. The unique advantage possessed

by this fertile land in the possession of unlimited electric power to work up its raw materials must result in developments of the material resources of its people that have hitherto been undreamt of

It would be superfluous for me to speak of Your Highness's loyalty to the British Raj. It is with Your Highness not only a matter of personal feeling, but it is an hereditary tradition, for Maharajah Gulab Singh's relations with the British Government are too well known to call for remark, and Maharajah Ranbir Singh, Your Highness's father, sided wholeheartedly with us at the time of the Mutiny. I regret that I have only been able to see a few of Your Highness's Imperial Service Troops which are a standing monument of the readiness of the Kashmir State to take its place in defence of the northern frontier of India. They did their share in the Hunza Expedition of 1888 and in the Chitral country in 1895 and rendered valuable services which will ever be an honour to their flag. That they are ready to do so again I well know, and I wish to congratulate Your Highness on the prizes they have won for musketry, on the high standard of signalling they have attained and on the commendation

bestowed upon them by the Inspector General of Imperial Service Troops I am glad to learn that Your Highness has assumed the office of the Commander in Chief, as it is a proof, if proof were needed, of the interest you take in this important matter I am sure that if trouble should come, as we all hope it never may, the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops would as ever render a good account of themselves

I had the pleasure of seeing Your Highness decorated by His Imperial Majesty himself last December with the insignia of the G C I E The honour was bestowed on you by His Gracious Majesty partly in recognition of Your Highness's devotion to the Throne, but in no small measure in recognition of your Highness's solicitude for the welfare of your subjects His Imperial Majesty has the happiness and prosperity of all subjects of his vast Empire continually in his thoughts as the acts of his daily life show, and he delights to honour those Rulers who study the good of the peoples subject to and dependent on them I am glad that Your Highness marked the visit of Their Imperial Majesties to Delhi by the grant of concessions to your people It was an act worthy of all praise

Providence has given Your Highness a land of unparalleled natural wealth and you have shown that you recognise the obligations that benevolence imposes upon you by applying a due proportion of your abundant revenues towards the amelioration of your people's condition. Like your father, Your Highness is a pious and orthodox Hindu, and yet tolerant of other's beliefs, and I respect you for it. The Hindu religion teaches that a Ruler should govern for the good of his people. I have acquainted myself with many of the details of the administration, and I am glad to learn that Your Highness has given a high place to the promotion of health in the minds and bodies of your subjects. You have extended facilities for education in many directions and I am particularly glad to learn that you have decided to make religion and morals the subjects of special instruction. This I regard as a most important feature in the State's education system, for the formation of character is the only true education. You have testified to your conviction in the matter of education by sending your Heir Presumptive, Raj Kumar Hari Singh, whom I am glad to see here to night, to be brought up at the Mayo



## KASHMIR STATE BANQUET SPEECH.

College under the guidance of a carefully selected guardian, and I am pleased to learn that he is acquitting himself well, that he bears an excellent character and that he is achieving success both in school and on the play-ground. Time does not permit me to enter into the details of the improvement which you are introducing in the matters of sanitation, irrigation and revenue administration. In this and many other directions, acting on the advice of the Resident, Mr Fraser, who, I know, is at all times ready to place his experience and his advice at your disposal, Your Highness is faithfully discharging the trust reposed in you as the Ruler of many people and I am sure all those present here to night wish Your Highness long life and sustained health to carry on the good work which you have in hand.

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to join me in drinking most cordially the health of our generous and hospitable host, His Highness the Maharajah Sir Pratap Singh.

## THE DISTRICT BOARD, QUETTA

[An Address of welcome was presented by the Quetta District Board to His Excellency who made the following reply] —

GENTLEMEN,—I offer you my warmest thanks for the Address of Welcome which has just been read to me. Your District as a District is young, and even as the centre of the great Chenab Colony, you cannot claim a very hoary antiquity. It has been said, "Happy is the nation that has no history," and the truth of that remark could have no more apt illustration than Lyallpur, for if your annals are free from striking incidents you can boast a record of every increasing prosperity which cannot be beaten by any other District in India.

I acknowledge with much appreciation the words of gratitude to which you have given expression for the treatment that has been accorded to you by the Government of India, and, indeed, I think we have been generous, for I hear that the average cash rental of your land is actually more than the Rs 128 for

which the proprietary rights have been acquired, and that some of it is changing hands for Rs 400 per acre. It has long been my desire to pay a visit to some of the Canal Colonies of the Punjab, the fame of which had reached my ears long before I ever set foot in India, and that ambition was stimulated by my recent visit to Marala, where I opened the first link of the Triple Project. I was then able to form some idea of the splendid engineering achievements which have made these Colonies possible, and watched as it poured into its thirsty channels the first life giving stream destined to bring fertility and prosperity to one more tract of barren desolation. If in some respects the engineering progress achieved in India falls behind that of other countries there is one point in which she stands supreme—the art and practice of irrigation. The irrigated area of India exceeds by many million acres that of any other country in the world. In the Jhelum and Chenab Colonies alone we have an area which equals half of the total irrigation of Egypt. At Marala I referred to the great work accomplished by the Irrigation Engineers of India, but it is peculiarly fitting that I should again ex-

press my admiration here, speaking as I do in the presence of men who have benefited so greatly by their efforts and who have been witnesses of the untiring labour and self sacrificing devotion which they have been brought to this great work. You have sounded a note of some anxiety as to whether projects of this kind may not diminish your existing supply of water, but I can only assure you that no effort will be spared by the Government to secure you a supply of water which will be adequate for the needs of the Colony. I should like to take this opportunity of repeating the warning that I gave at Marala against the careless and extravagant use of water, for recklessness and prodigality in its use will bring sickness to your homes and sourness to your lands, and I am sorry to say that I have heard rumours that our experts at Pusa consider that the quality of Lyallpur wheat is already suffering from excess of water. You admit the increase of crime within your borders but are contented to remark that the number of crimes of violence is not unduly high. I will not argue with you as to the exact significance of that little word "unduly." I will only say that a land of plenty like this should be

## THE DISTRICT BOARD, QUETTA.

a land of peace, and that you will not be worthy of your good fortune unless you set your faces like flint against crime and evil doings and develop a public opinion which shall make vice, immorality, drunkenness and violence slink ashamed from your midst

Gentlemen, I turn to the exceedingly pleasant task which you have asked me to perform. I think you know, and I do not attempt to conceal, the great personal affection and devotion which I felt towards His late Most Gracious Majesty King Edward, from whom I received so much kindness, and I feel confident that he would have appreciated the fact that his memory will be kept warm in so many and such distant places by institutions for the better care of the sick. I greatly applaud, therefore, the decision which you have taken to devote the greater part of the funds you have raised to the improvement of the medical facilities of this District. Some portion you have reserved for this fountain, and together with your generous contribution to the Provincial memorial, these form your tribute of affection and loyalty to one who was in very truth the father of his people. I will now proceed to unveil it, and will only say once more, before

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

I do so, how grateful I feel towards you for the kindness of your welcome and pray that your District of Lyallpur may continue to flourish as the years roll by in ever-increasing prosperity and contentment

## THE DALY COLLEGE

[H E the Viceroy opened the new buildings of the Daly College, Indore. A procession was drawn up in the vestibule of the College Hall, composed of the Ruling Chiefs who had visited His Excellency in the morning, including H H the Maharajah Scindia and H H the Begum of Bhopal who had both come to Indore specially to be present at the opening ceremony. Mr Hyde welcomed the Viceroy to the Daly College and explaining the object of the College gave an epitome of its history. H E the Viceroy replied as follows] —

MR HYDE, MR. O DWYER, YOUR HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the Address that he has just read, the Principal has given us a most interesting account of the history of this Daly College and of the circumstances which have led up to the present ceremony. He has been pleased to use appreciative and grateful language regarding my own presence here and the part which I am taking, but I can assure you that amid the various duties which are imposed upon me during this autumn tour, there are few that I shall find more congenial, for the education of the Chiefs

and Nobles of the Native States of India is a matter which has occupied the sympathetic attention of a long succession of Viceroys from Lord Mayo onwards, and I should, indeed, be wanting in a proper sense of my responsibilities if I did not realise the special place filled by the Chiefs' Colleges in the general scheme of educational policy I feel it, therefore, a privilege to be allowed to take my part in to-day's proceedings, and I regard them as the symbol of great progress accomplished in an important field of work

I cannot help thinking that this must be a proud day for Sir Hugh Daly, whose face I am sorry to miss, for it places as it were a crown upon the work so well begun by his father, and it has doubtless been a labour of love to him and a task of filial piety to develop the Daly College to the highest possible standard. His enthusiasm was clearly infectious and I tender my congratulations both to the other Political Officers who have taken so keen an interest and to the Chiefs of Central India who have rendered this building possible not only by their moral support, but also by their most generous contributions There is no finality in this world, and I feel confident that



these benefactors of the College will continue their interest in its future, and I hope that some of them may be moved by Mr. Hyde's recital of the additional requirements already in sight

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating the Daly College Staff and students alike upon the progress they have made and the successes they have won. I am told that there are no less than 70 boys here, a wonderful contrast to the total of five little boys of 1904, and I make no doubt that with improved buildings and other facilities the numbers will continue to grow without sacrifice of quality or efficiency, for in the past you have had to put up with considerable difficulties. You have had plague in the city, which delayed the erection of your buildings, you have had insufficient and uncomfortable accommodation and long terms of residence and study without a break. But cheerful good temper and willing co-operation on the part of Masters and boys alike have carried you through. And here let me say how deeply I regret that today's celebrations should be closed by a tinge of melancholy, when we reflect upon the loss that the College has sustained

in the sudden and lamented death of Mr Nicholls who was so promising and capable a member of the Staff

There is one way in which the Chiefs can co-operate with the Principal and secure the fullest advantage of the money they have spent, the importance of which has not perhaps been fully realised, though in this respect matters are improving, and that is by sending boys from their States to the College when they are young, and insisting on their regular attendance. In Europe, boys are learning a second language and have made considerable advance in arithmetic at an age when Indian boys of noble birth have hardly begun to read or write their mother tongue, and in Europe regularity of attendance is insisted on by parents, and until an improvement is shown in these two respects, it is impossible to reap the full benefit of the instruction that is available. The remedy lies in Your Highnesses' hands.

There is just one other thing that I should like to say before I conclude. Except those who become Ruling Chiefs or the heads of families with estates to manage, I am told that few of the old Boys are to be found doing useful public work in the various States in later life,

and yet there is plenty of scope for them, for the great group of Central India and Rajputana States needs practical administrators in every department of Government, and I cannot but think that among the young men of good birth and high character sent out into the world by these Colleges there should be many with pre-eminent qualification to do good service. I have heard some talk of a post diploma College, and there may be the seed in that idea of a scheme which would render such boys even more fit for useful State employment. But whatever may come of it, Ruling Chiefs would do well by their Nobles and do well by these Colleges if they would steadily bear in mind that there is no better stuff for responsible work than is to be found in the class of boys who pass through them, that it would be good policy to employ them when possible and to support any scheme that may be wisely devised to render them more fit for such employment.

I note that it was Lord Dufferin who opened the first building of the Daly College in 1885. He was my first master, under whom I served more than 30 years ago and whose memory I hold in reverence and affection. It is a matter of personal satisfaction to me to follow in his

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footsteps, and the buildings which it is now my great pleasure to declare open are worthy of the noble purpose for which they are intended. They have been designed by Sir Swinton Jacob, that unrivalled master of Indian architecture, to whom so many parts of India are indebted for beautiful and practical edifices. It is my earnest wish that the members who are brought up among these architectural beauties may be influenced by them and learn from them and in them to live lives at once noble and practical.

## INDORE STATE BANQUET SPEECH.

*[H. H the Maharajah Holkar entertained Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge at a State Banquet in the Lal Bagh Palace, Indore, on the 9th Nov 1912 The following speech was made by His Excellency on the occasion] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—I must begin the few remarks which I am to make to you this evening with an expression of most hearty thanks on behalf of Lady Hardinge and myself for the very kind way in which Your Highness has proposed our health and for the very kind manner in which it has been received. We also wish to acknowledge with gratitude Your Highness's generous entertainment of us and the care expended on making arrangements for our comfort and enjoyment. It was my intention last year to come to Indore myself to invest Your Highness with ruling powers, and it was a disappointment to me that owing to the necessity for my presence at Delhi to supervise the preparations for the Durbar I was prevented from carrying out this intention. It was, however, with all the greater pleasure that I was able to receive Your Highness at Simla this summer and that I

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.

have been able to accept Your Highness's very kind invitation to come here now to visit this most interesting and progressive State and renew and strengthen among your own people my friendship with Your Highness, upon which I lay so much stress and value

I am glad that the prospects of the harvest are generally favourable, although, owing to several years of more or less deficient rainfall rain is still wanted I am also glad to learn that the condition of the State is in every way prosperous I am particularly glad to learn from my Agent in Central India and the Resident that your Highness has the strength of mind and wisdom which are not always to be found in youth to avail yourself freely of the counsels of those to whom maturer years have brought a ripe experience, and that you are faithfully acting on the advice conveyed in my *Khairat* which was delivered to you on the occasion of your investiture Your Highness is to be specially congratulated on the wisdom and foresight with which you have faced the difficulties of the opium situation The *Durbar* have reduced the area of cultivation and have given practical and successful attention to the problem of substituting other crops and



## INDORE STATE BANQUET SPEECH

industries for poppy cultivation and the opium trade In this important matter Your Highness's Durbar have readily fallen in with the policy of Government and have materially assisted us in the solution of a most difficult and harassing problem, and our most cordial thanks are due to you for your support

I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my strong approval of Your Highness's sense and sagacity in the friendly attitude you have adopted towards your Rajput nobility Unity is strength, and Your Highness's position will be made more secure and also more pleasant if you continue to rally round you those noble families who are your natural supporters in time of trouble and your natural attendants and companions at all times Let me in this connection venture to offer Your Highness a word of advice Build up within your own State a body of your own subjects on whom you can rely to serve you Take them young, educate them, select the best, fit them for high places, and when they are fit, confer high places upon them Give them responsibility, enlist their interest and sympathy in the work of administration, and I confidently predict that you will not regret the step you have taken I am glad that

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Your Highness is already interested in the education of your people and that you have given practical evidence that you realise the importance of giving the best education to your nobility, by your recent generous donation of Rs 2½ lakhs to the Daly College, which I was so pleased to visit yesterday, and of which I have carried away the happiest impressions. The gift was most liberal and the object entirely worthy. Your Highness's Imperial Service Troops form a most useful adjunct to the defences of the Empire, and I am glad to learn that they did excellent work at Delhi under the Commandant, Major Lutif Ali Khan, and were specially complimented by the Durbar Committee.

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating Your Highness upon your intention to take the advice of Mr Lanchester, one of our Delhi experts, upon the improvement of your Capital, with a view to ameliorating its sanitary condition and to diminishing the ravages of plague amongst your subjects. Your Highness's career is all before you and I wish to impress upon you the magnificent opportunities that lie to your hand, opportunities that I am sure will not be wasted. Seldom if ever

has a young Chief entered on his rule with so well-ordered and prosperous a State and with so bright a future before him, or with a better preparation for the high duties which Providence has been pleased to call upon him to discharge. Your Highness has received an excellent education at the Mayo College and has had the advantages of European travel and the widening influences which acquaintance with men of high lineage and position in the great countries of the West should impart. The finances of your State are completely satisfactory and every department of the State has been reorganised during your minority by specially selected officers, and now that Your Highness has taken over the administration, you have in the Resident, Mr Wood, and my Agent in Central India, Mr O'Dwyer, Political Officers of well known ability on whose friendship and assistance you may rely, while I need hardly say how ready I and my successors will always be to help you in any way to the best of our power. I would urge Your Highness to reflect upon these great opportunities. With you and with you alone it rests to decide how they shall be used. I am confident from what I know and have seen

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

of Your Highness's high sense of duty and devotion to your State that now at the outset of your career you have decided that they will be used *only for good, and that later on in your life you will be able to look back upon your rule as a task well performed, and that the British Government, your subjects and posterity will be able to reserve your name as that of a great, good and just ruler*

It is my earnest wish and the wish of all present here that Your Highness will be blessed with long life and much happiness and with strength and health for the carrying out of your life's work. Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink to the health of his Highness the Maharajah Tukooji Rao Holkar

## OPENING OF H. H. THE RAJAH OF DHAR'S HOSPITAL

[*H. E The Viceroy laid on the 11th November, 1912, the foundation stone of the new Hospital to be built by H H The Rajah of Dhar In doing so His Excellency spoke as follows*] —

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—  
Though our visit to this historic old city is perforce a very fleeting one, I am extremely glad that it was possible to arrange it, for the name and fame of Dhar are widely known, and I was anxious to visit Your Highness and to see it with my own eyes Raja Bhoj, to whom you have referred, was a great patron of literature and himself an author, and I think if he had lived at the present day he would probably have claimed an eminent place also as an irrigation engineer, for to him is ascribed the gigantic dam which once held up the vast lake near Bhojpur But that was 900 years ago, and I am sorry to think that Raja Bhoj himself in those stormy times was driven from his throne, and that some centuries later his famous dam was destroyed Since then Dhar

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

has been through many vicissitudes, and it must be a proud reflection for Your Highness that the confirmation of Dhar to Anand Rao the First restored the *gadi* to a race who had been expelled seven centuries before from the government of this country

As I visit the various States of India and gain acquaintance with the traditions of the different ruling families, I find that the names that stand out in their annals are those of the men who have carved out a heritage for their children or earned a glorious name on the field of battle in fighting the foes of their country. But there are others, such as Raja Bhoj, who have been even more distinguished in the arts of peace than of war, and in these days, when the sword happily reposes in its sheath, distinction can best be won by a beneficent and enlightened administration. It is, therefore, a very great pleasure to me to know that Your Highness's Government is capable, efficient and progressive, and that as the ruler of Your State you have secured the affection of Your subjects, while the relations existing between Yourself and my Political Officers are those of mutual friendship and esteem. The ceremony which we are gathered here to perform to day

## OPENING OF H H RAJAH OF DHAR'S HOSPITAL

is an illustration of the interest which Your Highness takes in the welfare of your people, and the history of the medical institutions within the State which Your Highness has given us, proves the steady development that has taken place here in the provision of medical facilities during the past 60 years, thanks largely to the princely generosity of Your Highness and of Your Highness's late father, and shows us too that the people have responded to this benevolence by their ready resort to the various hospitals and dispensaries which have been placed within their reach. It is a ceremony which I take particular pride and pleasure in performing inasmuch as it allows me to take my small part in a scheme designed to mitigate the sufferings of humanity, and at the same time it gives me the opportunity of paying one more tribute to the revered memory of that gracious Sovereign in whose name it is to be erected. No man ever had a larger, kinder heart than King Edward for those afflicted with disease and misfortune and the true appreciation of that feature of his character has raised countless memorials designed for the care and comfort of the sick in every part of his wide dominions, so

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

that the many and varied influences for good that emanated from him have not ceased with his death, but like ripples on the water have gone on extending infinite circles and will be felt like a soothing touch by generations yet unknown. He was my deeply respected master and my friend, and it makes me glad to think that he keeps so warm a place in your hearts, as is proved by the liberality that has made possible this hospital of which I have now pleasure in laying the foundation-stone.



## THE UDAIPUR STATE BANQUET.

[*The following is the text of H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet held at Udaipur on the 15th November, 1912 : His Highness the Maharajah was prevented by illness from attending the Banquet in person*] —

MAHARAJ KUMAR SAHIB, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise in the first place to express my very hearty thanks to His Highness for his kind words of welcome to Lady Hardinge and to myself, as representative of His Imperial Majesty, for the unstinted hospitality which he has shown to us, and to the thought and care that has been devoted to our comfort and enjoyment. I was profoundly concerned when, a few days ago, I received the first news of His Highness's indisposition, and for some time I was in doubt whether it would not be more convenient to His Highness that I should defer my visit to Udaipur to a later occasion, but the gradual improvement in his health, and his own strongly expressed desire that no alteration should be made in my plans finally decided me to adhere to my original intentions. My visit has been shorn of its ceremonial, but what I do most deeply regret is that I have unfortu-

nately been deprived of the opportunity, to which I had been looking forward with so much pleasure, of renewing and cementing my friendship with His Highness, for whom, as the leading Chief in Rajputana, I have the highest esteem, by that personal intercourse for which occasions occur far too rarely with Ruling Chiefs in the full and unceasing activity of the life that falls to a Viceroy's lot

I need not assure His Highness that our stay in Mewar has been from first to last full of interests and the highest enjoyment. The beauties of nature with which this country is so richly endowed would appear to be the most unappreciated, and the history of the State and the monuments of Chittoor and at Udaipur must inspire reverence in any one who can venerate brave deeds of heroism and self sacrifice performed by gallant men and noble ladies in the defence of their homes and their honour. The names of Bappa Rawa, the founder of His Highness's dynasty nearly 1,200 years ago, and of Rana Partap, His Highness's illustrious predecessors, are household words throughout India and are known even among many people who have never come to this great Continent. They have raised high the name of Mewar and

shed lustre on the Chief who sits upon its gaddi. It is a pleasure and an honour to us to visit as guests the Capital of a ruler with such traditions behind him and descended from such ancestors, and it is the more so to one who represents His Imperial Majesty in India to know that the relations between the paramount power and the Maharana of Udaipur have always been those of intimacy and friendship. His Highness's rupees bear words "Dost London," and these coins bear witness through out the State to the unity of interest and cordial feeling that has subsisted between the British Crown and the State of Mewar since the British power first came into relation with it. No cloud has marred their serenity, and it was a source of satisfaction to all, both English and Indian, that the seal was set to this friendship by the conferment by the King Emperor on His Highness last year of the unparalleled honour of appointing him ruling Chief in ancient days of chivalry and therefore in consonance with his Highness's martial traditions, for it indicated that His Highness is selected to be at all times ready to place his sword at the King Emperor's service. His Highness, to His Imperial Majesty's and

his own infinite regret, was prevented by serious illness from taking the prominent place assigned to him by the Royal favour at the Coronation Durbar and receiving at His Imperial Majesty's hands the decoration of G C I E, but it must have been a satisfaction to His Majesty, as it was to His Highness the Maharana, to have had the opportunity of renewing their friendship formed on the occasion of King George's visit to Udaipur as Prince of Wales

I am gratified to learn that His Highness shows his friendship and good feeling to the Government of India by extending to my Agent in Rajputana and to the Resident, my representative in Mewar, unfailing courtesy and consideration. I know that they for their part are sincere well-wishers of His Highness and are at all times ready to assist His Highness in initiating and completing any measure calculated to benefit his nobles or his honourable subjects. Last year His Highness marked his devotion to the Crown and his appreciation of the honours conferred on him by granting certain boons to his Nobles and his people. That action was commendable not only for the loyal spirit that dictated it, but also for the objects selected as recipients of benevolence, for His

## UDAIPUR STATE BANQUET SPEECH

Highness showed that he recognises that just as the power of the British Crown in India finds its surest support in the allegiance of the feudatory Princes, so the Chiefs in their turn should rely mainly upon the devotion of their Nobles, the Arrkansi Daulat or pillars of the State. Just as the King Emperor selects the Princes of India as the recipients of his special favour, so the Chiefs should conciliate and treat with special consideration their hereditary Nobles. The King Emperor is required by the loyalty of the Chiefs, and the Chiefs will find in their Nobles a class akin to them in birth and traditions bound by every tie of interest and allegiance to maintain the political and social fabric of their rule.

I spoke in Central India of the wisdom shown by the Durbars in whose States opium is grown in their hearty co-operation with the Government of India in the matter of the opium trade. I must take advantage of this opportunity to thank His Highness for his help in this same direction. He has given practical proof of the identity of the interests of this State with those of the Government, and I desire to express our gratitude for his assistance. I wish also to add a word in

appreciation of his Highness's resolve to contribute Imperial Service Troops for Imperial defence. It was a happy coincidence that the formation of the Squadron was set on foot in the year marked by His Imperial Majesty's Coronation and by his visit to India. I am glad to learn that although there are some deficiencies, progress is being made in their equipment and instruction under the guidance of a selected Officer, and that the new lines are now ready, and especially that His Highness has decided that the Squadron should be recruited entirely from the subjects of Mewar State. I am confident that with such material they will be of service to you in time of peace and a credit to the name of Mewar should trouble arise.

His Highness has referred to the scheme which Her Excellency has so much at heart for a Women's Medical College. She is most grateful to him for his sympathy which will give her courage in pushing it forward, and I should like to associate myself with her in thanking His Highness for his promise of support. Lastly let me say that it has been a great pleasure to me Maharaj Kumar Sahib, to have made your acquaintance and that of some of His Highness's principal nobles. Owing

## UDAIPUR STATE BANQUET SPEECH

to His Highness's unfortunate and deeply regretted indisposition you have on various occasions acted as his representative, thus giving me opportunities of making your better acquaintance, and I shall always look back with pleasure to the happy and friendly relations that have been established between us. I wish to renew my thanks to His Highness for the opportunity he has given us of visiting his beautiful and renowned Capital and for all his generosity and kindness to us. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the speedy recovery and long life of Maharana His Highness Sir F. Pertap Singh, and to the prosperity and continued renown of his famous State.

## THE AJMERE MUNICIPALITY

*[The Chairman of the Ajmere Municipal Council read an Address of Welcome to Their Excellencies, to which H E Lord Hardinge made the following reply] —*

GENTLEMEN,—I should like to tender to you my warmest thanks for the kindness of your welcome and the expressions of loyalty and devotion to the Throne to which you have given utterance. As I find myself for the first time in Ajmere, I cannot but recall some of the incidents of strife and battle and some of the scenes of Imperial pageantry which have given to your city a halo of romance, and I look forward with the most pleasurable anticipation to visiting the various shrines and monuments and other antiquarian remains which mark the different stages of its history and fill it with beauty and interest. The fame of them attracts the footsteps of all who are in sympathy with Indian history and tradition, and all who make a study of Indian antiquities, and you are, indeed, fortunate to have received so recently among their number so gracious a guest as



Her Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress. Ajmere has now, through a series of years extending over several centuries, had a special importance not only as one of the Royal residences of the Emperors of Delhi, but also as the official centre of Rajputana, and in that character it is, I think, entitled to the special consideration of the Government of India. There is ample testimony in your Address that it has not been neglected in the past, and I much appreciate the grateful language in which you refer to the assistance and attention you have received at their hands in recent years.

For the future, I notice indications of two or three important questions which may or may not demand my careful attention, but if you can settle them without reference to my Government so much the better. Meantime I hope I may have opportunities during the few days I shall be here to make some personal acquaintance with the bearings of these knotty problems, and should they come before me officially, I shall be in a position, through my visit, to approach them with more sympathy and a better understanding than is always possible in dealing with questions of which one has nothing but a paper knowledge. The rapid

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.

increase of your population is an index of your growth in importance and prosperity, but it unavoidably brings with it more serious responsibilities in the matter of sanitation and water-supply, and seeing how you are hemmed in by the Anasagar Lake, the railway and the Taragart Hills, you have rightly numbered among your future pressing needs the planning of healthy suburbs. I feel confident that these and other improvements will receive at your hands the earnest attention and careful planning they deserve, and I wish you and your city all success and prosperity for the future.

In conclusion, I desire to thank you for including Lady Hardinge in the kind welcome with which you have greeted us, and to tell you how great a pleasure it is to us both to have been able to visit your city and to meet you here to-day.

## THE ISTAMRARDARS OF AJMERE

*[His Excellency received the Tazim Istamrardars of Ajmere in a body at the Residency, and after they had been presented by the Commissioner, made a speech, which was afterwards translated into the vernacular by the Residency Munshi. The following is the text of His Excellency's speech] —*

GENTLEMEN,—I would like to say what a very great pleasure it has been to me to make the acquaintance of you, the Tazim Istamrardars of Ajmere. You represent an aristocracy as high as any that can be found in British India, and you still hold in Ajmere a position which your fathers won with their strong right hands in the stormy days of long ago. Your faithful allegiance to His Imperial Majesty is a matter of common knowledge, and your welfare, in which my Government are so closely interested, has been the care of a long line of Chief Commissioners, and is very near the heart of Sir Elliot Colvin. I am grieved to know that some of your estates are heavily embarrassed, and though I believe that in most cases your debts are due to a succession of those

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

lean years to which this part of India is unfortunately liable, I will not conceal from you that I have also heard that the unfortunate position of a few of you is due to having unnecessarily exceeded your means. To those of you to whom these remarks may apply I wish to make an earnest appeal. Prodigality can only lead to ruin, which will involve not only yourselves but also your families, and I can imagine no more painful subject for your reflection than the thought that your children and your children's children should be doomed to poverty and misery and loss of social status through your own lack of foresight. I am well aware that many of you and notably Rai Bahadur the Thakur of Badanbari and the Thakur of Baga-suri take the keenest interest in the administration of your estates and manage them with great success, and it is a special pleasure to me to know that as a body you appreciate the value of education, that several of you have been educated at the Mayo College, and that many of you send your sons to your boarding house at that fine institution. Education will open their minds and teach them the value of the heritage which has been handed down to them, and it will teach them that high position carries

with it great responsibilities, and that they can have no nobler ambition than to be regarded as the father of their people. I feel sure, gentlemen, that you will forgive me the few words of counsel I have ventured to make use of on this occasion and will realise that I have done so in no spirit of fault finding, but speaking to you as friend to friend and with the most hearty desire for your happiness and well being, and, before we part company, let me repeat that I am very pleased to have had this opportunity of meeting you and shall always remember with kindly feelings the Istamrardars of Ajmere

## LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE KING EDWARD MEMORIAL

[*On the occasion of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the King Edward Memorial at Ajmere His Excellency said*] —

SIR ELLIOT COLVIN, YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the course of my visits to various parts of India, one of the tasks which it has most often fallen to my lot to perform is the laying of the foundation stone or unveiling of a memorial to King Edward VII. Many of those present must have seen him either in England or when he visited India as Prince of Wales, and some of you, I doubt not, knew him sufficiently well to have come under the spell of his personal charm and are able to realise the feeling of reverent homage with which I, who knew him more intimately, perform the duty that you have now laid upon me.

It is a noteworthy fact that so large a number of the memorials which are springing up all over India to his memory are inspired by the idea of charity. Sometimes it is a sanato-

rium or hospital or other form of medical relief, sometimes a fountain, than which, in this often hot and thirsty land, it is difficult to find a more appropriate symbol of benevolence, and sometimes it is some other scheme with a like motive, as here, where you have decided to enshrine his memory in a rest house to which travellers of all creeds and classes, however poor, may betake themselves in comfort and security until they set out again upon their journey, invigorated and refreshed. In this the various communities who have been moved to perpetuate the memory of his name have seized with unerring instinct and marked with unmistakable emphasis the leading characteristic of his nature, for throughout his life King Edward devoted himself with earnest sympathy to the cause of charity and was ever ready to forward any scheme for the relief of the poor and needy and for the benefit of all classes of his subjects.

You who have subscribed towards the erection of this building have given a more than usually ample token of the affection and love that you entertained towards him, for many of you have contributed to the All India Memorial and many to memorials in your own

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

States But it was fitting, as you clearly felt, that Rajputana as a whole should have a monument of its own, and this is the official centre of Rajputana and hither come thousands of Moslem pilgrims to the sacred Dargarh of Khwaja Sahib, while not far away is the Pushkar Lake, which is visited by Hindus in even greater numbers This Rest House should be a blessing to both alike, and as I lay its foundation stone, I shall hope that those who take advantage of its shelter will now and again give a thought of kindness to the memory of the great and good King Emperor whose name it bears



## THE MAYO COLLEGE

*[Their Excellencies drove to the Mayo College and were received there by the Chief Commissioner, the Ruling Chiefs in Ajmere the members of the College Council and the Principal and staff of the College. When Their Excellencies had been conducted to their seats the Principal delivered an Address in which he welcomed the Viceroy to the Mayo College, and gave an account of its objects, an epitome of its history and a list of the successes obtained by its students in educational and athletic competitions. His Excellency then addressed the assembly as follows] —*

MR WADDINGTON, YOUR HIGHNESSES, BOYS OF THE MAYO COLLEGE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I feel that it is a great privilege that has fallen to my lot that I should form another link in the chain of Viceroys who have presided at your annual prize distribution. No less than a third of this great country is under the direct control of the Ruling Chiefs of India and in the years that have elapsed since I landed at Bombay, it has been my pleasure and privilege to make acquaintance with a large number of them, while there are not a few

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

whom I number among my close personal friends. A Viceroy has many interests, but there is none that touches him more nearly than his relations with these noble Houses, many of them with genealogies lost in the mists of antiquity, and many of them with traditions of chivalry and heroism the story of which stirs the blood and warms the heart even in these comparatively humdrum days of peace and quiet. It is a proud thought for England that these ruling families should be so knit together with her in loyalty and friendship and that they are now the very pillars of her Indian Empire. But happily it is but seldom in these days that we have to ask them to share with our troops the perils of war in fighting the battles of the Empire. More often we turn to them for counsel or co-operation in certain of the problems that beset us, and I need not tell you how much we valued the presence of some of them on the Committee which so successfully organised the Delhi Durbar. To all of them we look to maintain a high standard of administration and to regard with a more paternal eye than of old, the interests of their subjects, so that throughout the length and breadth of this vast peninsula, every

man may have his fair chance of dwelling in peace under his own roof and reaping that which he has sown, without fear of oppression or injustice or violence

And if that is our ideal, can you wonder that to me and to my Government the various Chiefs' Colleges, and by no means least among them this Mayo College, are institutions to which we attach the most serious importance, and that their success is to us a matter of absorbing interest, for in them should be learnt those lessons which cultivate the mind and mould the character of men, not one of whom but is destined by his birth and position to exercise a wide influence in after life among his fellowmen, many of whom have already gone forth and will in due time wield dominion over subjects who can be numbered in hundreds of thousands. I will even go further and give expression to the impression that has been made upon my mind by my visit and what I have learnt of this College, as also of the Daly College that I visited at Indore, when I say that these Chiefs' Colleges are to my mind a civilising and progressive influence in India and at the same time a means of disseminating throughout the breadth of this beautiful land—

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.

thanks to the example of the Principal and masters employed—all that we of the English race regard as most precious in the principles of morality, loyalty and culture. Amongst these I would mention, last but not least, the formation of character, without which learning can be but of secondary value

In the remarks which have just fallen from your Principal, there is, I think, you will all agree, ground for much satisfaction and if only Lord Mayo and Lord Curzon could be present here to-day and see the progress that has been made in this College they would rejoice with me at the success and prosperity which has crowned their suggestions and their far-seeing efforts. Lord Curzon, whom you have so happily described as the "second founder of this College," would have been especially pleased to hear of the progress you have made since he applied his vigorous mind to your welfare. When he came here just ten years ago, he remarked somewhat plaintively that while you had accommodation for 100 boys here, there were only 52 on your rolls, but now we have just heard that the numbers at the end of the past year quadrupled that figure. The finances of the College are on a far firmer footing. It

has a strong College staff and is well equipped with buildings and boarding houses, laboratories and play ground. This immense progress dates from the beginning of 1903, and it is a coincidence which cannot fail to arrest attention that 1903 was the year in which your present Principal, Mr. Waddington, was first appointed to the Mayo College. I doubt whether a wiser resolution was ever made, and you boys, both past and present, no less than the Government of India owe him a debt of gratitude which it would not be easy to repay.

But even Mr. Waddington, with all his industry, wisdom, experience and tact could not have effected so much single handed. These qualities were essential factors, and he had, it is true, in addition, the keen sympathy of Sir Elliot Colvin and a series of Political Officers and the loyal co-operation of a capable and energetic staff. But even this co-operation would not have sufficed unless there had been something more, and I need only refer again to his own observation to show how much he has been indebted to the warm and enthusiastic support he has received from the Chiefs, not only of Rajaputana, though they not unnaturally fill the largest space in the list of benefactors,

but also from other parts of India, and this support has come to him and to the College not only in liberal endowments, but also in the time and care that so many of them have given to their duties on the Council and Managing Committee, and the wise but progressive spirit which they have brought to their deliberations. They say that gratitude is a lively sense of favours to come, but I am sure that Mr Waddington and his staff share with me a warmer feeling than that towards those who have done so much to make this College the noble institution that it is, and you will not think the less kindly of him when he takes of this opportunity of mentioning that an extension class rooms is badly wanted, or of me if I express the hope that this seed sown by the wayside may chance to alight on fertile soil and may hereafter yield the fruit of another generous benefactor.

To you, boys, I should like to say what a delight it is to me to see your happy faces before me and to think that your boyhood is being given a training which should fit you to face the world with cultivated minds, with clean hands and brave hearts. I congratulate those among you who have gained prizes, but not less do I congratulate those of you who

have tried hard and failed, for after all to a courageous spirit the joy is in the battle rather than in the victory, and though a prize is useful means of getting your aim in the right direction, you must not forget that your true aim should be at a nobler mark, that you should strive to develop to their fullest capacity every talent what God has given you, whether of body or mind, so that each of you may become a man of strong character, brave and courteous, self-controlled and considerate and influence for good each in your own world whether it be great or small. I rejoice to see here so many old boys, for there is nothing which shows more clearly that a College has got a tradition and spirit of its own than the loyalty towards it felt by those who have learned to love it in their boyhood, and who come back to it with feelings of pride and affection in after life. It was on Saturday when one of your old boys was presented to me that I realised what this College must mean to many of you when he told me that he came to the Mayo College at the age of six, spent 14 years in the College and had seven brothers here. That is a fine record for the College and shows that it is more than a College and almost a home to many boys here.

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

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## THE MAYO COLLEGE.

conclude than by repeating the words of one of the recitations we have listened to.—“Play up and play the game.”

## THE KING EDWARD VII MEMORIAL AT JAIPUR

*[The following is the text of H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the King Edward Serai at Jaipure] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—I had the greatest possible pleasure in accepting the invitation of H H the Maharajah of Jaipur to perform this ceremony, and I count it a great privilege and honour that I should be associated in this manner with so many of the Memorials that are springing up in different parts of India, to keep in mind the name of one who so worthily presided over the destiny of the vast dominions entrusted to his care. That great and good King Emperor, Edward VII, was, as it were, a beacon by whose light millions of men of many countries, many races and many tongues, East and West, and north and south, were guided and influenced whether they knew it or not. But that a large proportion did know it is proved by these numerous memorials, and they show that he not only influenced the lives of many millions of

## THE KING EDWARD VII MEMORIAL AT JAIPUR.

his subjects, but reigned in their hearts as an object of reverence and affection. A year ago many of us were present when His Gracious Majesty King George laid the first stone of the All-India Memorial at Delhi, and in the past three weeks I have taken part in three similar ceremonies, and the fact that at Delhi, at Ajmere, and here again in Jaipur, Your Highness and Your Highness's subjects have contributed to the perpetuation of his name, bears eloquent testimony to the warmth of the devotion with which he was regarded in your State. In that sense of devotion, I who treasure the memory of his personal friendship and kindness yield to none, and I feel that we are all drawn together in the bonds of a common sympathy in the reverent performance of this ceremony. I am glad to think that Indian talent has had so large a part in the design and execution of this building and though it is still unfinished, there is enough to show that it is not unworthy of him whose name it bears. I am happy to know, and King Edward himself would have rejoiced to know that here in Jaipur his memory will for ever be associated with a place of rest for weary travellers without distinction of caste or creed. I declare this King Edward Seral to be open.

## THE STATE BANQUET AT JAIPUR

*[At a State Banquet held in his honour H E the Governor General said] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—As Your Highness has reminded me, I first made your acquaintance in Calcutta a few months after my arrival in India. Your Highness has referred in terms of pleasure to that meeting and I can only say that the pleasure was mutual. Ever since then I have known that I have in Your Highness a warm and trusty friend, and I have long looked forward to the opportunity of visiting you in India.

The chief difficulty that a Viceroy experiences at Jaipur in responding as a guest of His Highness when his health has been drunk, is in deciding how to begin. He is faced by an embarrassed richness. His host's ancestry is of the greatest antiquity and nobility. His predecessor's achievements in the realms of statesmanship, war and peace are unsurpassed. His domains are rich, prosperous and extensive. His loyalty to the Crown and the Empire is unequalled in the present, as it was in the past, and his patronage of progressive movements for

the benefit of the continent of India and of the people of his own State is above praise.

History, we all know, repeats itself, and we have an illustrious example of this principle in the life and achievements of the present Maharajah Sir Sawai Madho Singh. Your Highness's famous ancestors Raja Mon Singh and Mirza Rajah Jai Singh I, were Generals who distinguished themselves in the service of the Moghul Emperors and received the highest military rank. Your Highness was honoured with the rank of Major-General at the great Durbar of last year. Your subjects are recruited in large numbers for the Rajput Regiment of His Imperial Majesty's Indian Army. Your Imperial Service Transport Corps, which did good service for the Crown in the Chitral and Tirah Expeditions, was by Your Highness's kindness placed wholly at the disposal of the Durbar Committee for the King-Emperor's Camp at Delhi last year and received a special message of thanks and congratulations for the services rendered. I am confident that, should an emergency call the Corps to the theatre of actual war, it would acquit itself worthily of the martial tradition of the State, and I look forward with great pleasure to inspecting the

Corps to-morrow under its well-tried Commandant, Colonel Rai Bahadur Ganpat Rai

Maharajah Sawai Jai Singh II was a patron of Sanskrit and scientific learning, as his great Observatory testifies, and Maharajah Ram Singh, Your Highness's predecessor, was prominent in his endeavours to stimulate education, to extend irrigation, and to give his people the benefit of improved road communications and the city of Jaipur a supply of good water, which Your Highness has recently supplemented. In all the matters, Your Highness has followed in his footsteps, but has travelled further on the road of progress than he ever did. The Albert Hall and the well known School of Arts make it clear that architecture and the arts and crafts receive Your Highness's encouragement, which alone has made it possible for Sir Swinton Jacob to carry on his great work. The Maharajah's College is a renowned seat of learning, and Your Highness, I am glad to hear, has lately enlarged the House for the accommodation of boys from Jaipur, who are under instruction at the Mayo College. Your Highness's patronage of education has been recognised even in Europe by the conferment on you by a great British University of the

## THE STATE BANQUET AT JAIPUR

degree of LL D The Mayo Hospital was rightly described by Lord Curzon one of the best equipped in India, and the work of alleviating the suffering of the sick is carried on there and in the other hospitals and dispensaries in the State to the great benefit of your subjects

Ambar, which we visited this afternoon with indescribable interest and pleasure, is a monument of the history of the past glories of the State Its rugged inaccessibility is characteristic of those times of strife and turbulence The City of Jaipur is more typical of an age of peace and development, and, under Your Highness's guidance, new and more gentle monuments equally beautiful and in keeping with the changed times, are being erected in the form of institutions designed for the mental and physical improvement of your people May Your Highness live long to carry on that progress which has always characterised the State! May history continue to repeat itself!

It has, as I have said, been a very great pleasure to me to visit Your Highness in the home of your ancestors, but it is a pleasure that I had very nearly foregone, and, as Your Highness is aware, I was ready to give it up,

and should have done so but for your express desire that I should adhere to my original plans For over this devoted City hangs the Angel of Death, and my heart goes out as much as the hearts of all of you to those poor people who lie under the affliction of this awful visitation I need not say that if I had thought that by cancelling my visit I could have saved a single life, not even Your Highness's pressing invitation would have induced me to come, but after taking the best advice at my disposal I decided that, provided those ceremonial functions which involved the presence of a large number of people were dispensed with, my visit in no way would affect the course of the present epidemic I greatly regret that this has involved the loss of the opportunity to which I had been looking forward of making the acquaintance of some of your principal Thakurs They are many of them your kinsmen, and they are the descendants of those warriors who, in the old days, helped Your Highness's ancestors, at the risk of life and property, to establish and maintain their rule over the State of Ambar They form an integral part of the fabric of your Staff They owe you allegiance and obedience for the lands



## THE STATE BANQUET AT JAIPUR.

they hold of you, and it is to Your Highness's true interest to maintain their dignity and to give them every opportunity of culture and improvement in the institutions formed, and to be formed, at Ajmere and elsewhere, for the joint benefit of rulers and nobles and be the means of strengthening them as an important component part of the body politic, for I am confident that in their enlightenment and strength, Your Highness must find the finest support to your position. It behoves you then, as it does every Ruling Chief, to build up and firmly weld the structure of your State, each story sound and strong and fit to bear the weight that nature has designed for it. I am glad to have had the pleasure of meeting your Chief Minister, the Nawab Sir Faizaz Ali Khan, Your Highness's right hand man and trusted co adjutor, who, I hope, will be spared for many years to administer with the Council the affairs of this great State.

Before concluding my remarks I must repeat my congratulations to your Highness on the double honour paid to you and Jaipur by Their Imperial Majesties last year. I refer to the exalted military rank conferred on Your Highness and to the visit paid to you by Her

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Gracious Majesty It was, I know, a great pleasure to the Queen Empress to have had the opportunity of renewing her recollections of Jaipur, which Her Majesty first visited as Princess of Wales in 1905 I wish to congratulate Your Highness on the happy inspiration that prompted you to mark the great events of last year by the generous remission of Rs 50 lakhs of arrears of land revenue I am sure that no concession to your subjects would be viewed with greater favour by His Imperial Majesty than this, for it shows that Your Highness is thoughtful of the needs of your poorest subjects, and realises that nothing constitutes such a drag on their happiness and such an obstacle to progress and recovery as the consciousness of a heavy load of debt, difficult, if not impossible, of repayment

Your Highness was good enough to let Lady Hardinge know beforehand that her scheme for a Medical College for women commanded your sympathy and support The donation which you have just announced will ensure the successful launching of her scheme, and she has asked me to express to Your Highness her deep gratitude for the princely munificence of your gift In view of the deep interest that I also

## THE STATE BANQUET AT JAIPUR

take in the welfare of the women of India and in the success of Lady Hardinge's scheme, I wish to associate myself with her expression of warm gratitude to Your Highness

I am particularly glad to know that Your Highness's relations with my agent in Rajputana, and with the Residents who have from time to time been sent here as the representatives of the Government of India, have been friendly and intimate. Their chief wish has been to be of service both to Your Highness and to the Government of India, and it is a source of gratification to me to learn that in this they have achieved success

I will detain you no longer, but I cannot sit down without thanking Your Highness most heartily for the cordial welcome and generous hospitality with which you have received Lady Hardinge and myself. I need hardly say that our visit has been a source of the greatest pleasure to us and that I am most thankful to have been able to renew my acquaintance with Your Highness under such charming conditions. Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health, long life and happiness of His Highness the Maharajah Sir Sawai Madho Singh Bahadur of Jaipur

## H. E THE VICEROY AT TONK

[His Excellency made the following reply to a loyal reference made by H H the Nawab of Tonk in his Welcome Address —]

YOUR HIGHNESS,—I greatly appreciate the most kind words with which you have welcomed me to Tonk, but when you refer to the inconveniences of the journey which I have made in order to come here, let me tell you that I feel myself more than amply repaid, for it is a very great pleasure to me to have been able to pay a visit to your picturesque old Capital, and to renew acquaintance with Your Highness. You have the distinction of being the only Mahomedan Chief in Rajaputana, and there can, I think, be few Chiefs in the whole of India who can rival you in the length of time you have sat upon the *Masnad*. It gives me keen pleasure to know that your State is now free from debt, and I trust that you and your people may long be spared the horrors of another famine such as that to which the crippling of your finances was largely due. The schemes which Your Highness has in hand

for the improvement of communications are an evidence of the interest which you feel in the development of your resources, and it has given me lively satisfaction to hear of the remission of arrears of revenue which Your Highness has recently made and now again proposes to make in honour of my visit, for they show that your Highness has at heart the welfare and contentment of your people, and no announcement could have given me greater pleasure on the present occasion. I have listened with feelings of gratification to your loyal references to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, and I am convinced that he will rejoice to know that the change of Capital, which he was pleased to ordain at his recent Durbar, has proved so acceptable to yourself and others of the great ruling families in India. I am sorry that the journey to Tonk was rather too far for Her Excellency to undertake, and Lady Hardinge commissioned me to tell you how greatly she regretted that she was unable to accompany me. I have only to thank Your Highness once more for the very warm welcome you have given me to your State and for the extremely friendly and cordial tone of your Address.

## OPENING OF A PEOPLE'S PARK AT BIKANIR

*[The following is the text of H E the Viceroy's speech in opening a People's Park at Bikanir]*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—  
I feel sure that the little bit of history which Your Highness has just given us must have stirred the feelings of many here, but those who have dipped into the annals of Rajasthan must know well that their pages teem with similar tales of chivalry and daring, and that, should ever occasion arise, the same old spirit that combines so many qualities of loyalty to friends and reckless courage in the presence of foes, of hot resentment of injury and perhaps a tinge of not unnatural pride, will spring once more into a bright and vigorous flame. The idea of commemorating the historical associations of the district of Pureyat by a monument in your Capital is one in which Your Highness must have the sympathy of all who know the value of old traditions and the important influence they bring to bear upon the formation of character.

I was very pleased when I was asked by your Highness to open this Park, and my

## OPENING OF A PEOPLE'S PARK AT BIKANIR

pleasure was still further enhanced at learning the history of its inception. I congratulate Your Highness on the happy idea of utilising its features, as a lasting memorial of those who in their various walks in life have contributed to the honourable record of Bikanir or done loyal service for the State. I understand that this is to be a People's Park, and the fact that the people themselves have subscribed almost the whole of the requisite funds shows how greatly the idea has appealed to them. Nothing but advantage can accrue to them from the creation of such a Park, thanks to the initiative co-operation of Your Highness.

I will now, with Your Highness's permission, declare this Park open, in the hope that in the dim and distant future, when young men, your sons and descendants walk on its green turf, enjoy its cool shade and look upon the various memorials with which they are surrounded, they will tell one another how this beautiful Park was made during the rule of the Maharaj Ganga Singh, remind one another that its very existence is a memorial of one of the wisest and best of Bikanir rulers, and each in his own way will try to emulate his example of devotion to duty and to his country's interest.

## BIKANIR STATE BANQUET SPEECH.

[*The following is the Viceroy's Speech at the State Banquet, Bikanir on the 20th Nov 1912*] —

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—  
You have happily reminded me that you were among the very first of those whose acquaintance I made upon my assumption of the Viceroyalty. It is an acquaintance which soon ripened into warm friendship. We have met on many occasions since then, and this visit to you in your home is one to which I have long looked forward with feelings of the most pleasurable anticipation. First let me tender to Your Highness, on behalf of Lady Hardinge and myself, our warmest thanks for the more than generous terms in which you have proposed our healths. Let me thank you, too, for the eloquent and loyal language in which you have clothed the thoughts we all share regarding their Gracious and Imperial Majesties' visit and the relations that subsist between them and the rulers and people of India.

Your Highness has made the most kindly reference to my own desire to maintain friendly



and intimate relations with the Ruling Chiefs  
 It is a desire which, indeed, lies very near my heart, and I am proud to number among my close friends not a few of them, not the least H H Sir Pratap Singh in whose successful conduct of the Regency of Jodhpur I take the greatest possible interest, and I am very glad to think that my selection of him for that responsible post has given so much satisfaction to the Rathee Ten years ago, when Lord Curzon addressed a similar gathering to this at Bikanir, His Lordship spoke chiefly in the future tense Dwelling on Your Highness prospects and on your unrivalled opportunities of doing good and achieving distinction, he enjoined on you the advisability of remaining a true Indian, while using to the full the advantages of a European and Indian education, and he said that it was within your power to blend the merits of the West and the East and to be at the same time a Liberal and a Conservative. To-day, though I devoutly hope that it is possible for Your Highness to look forward to a long future of useful and distinguished rule, I propose to deal mainly with events of the past as befits the occasion that marks the completion of the first quarter of a century

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

that has elapsed since Your Highness was installed upon the *gadi*

If we look back over the years which have intervened since Lord Curzon made that speech, during which Your Highness has exercised full ruling powers, the retrospect is one that must be a source of the highest satisfaction to Your Highness and to your many friends and well-wishers. We shall see that Your Highness has achieved what Lord Curzon hoped that you might be able to do, and has taken what is good from East and West, from age and youth, from liberalism and conservatism, and has used it for the good of your State and of the Empire. Your Highness has had the perspicacity to grasp that the highest good and the fullest development of your State can be reached, not by isolation but as a part of the Empire knit into one whole under the aegis of the Crown of England. You yourself, as A. D. C. to His Imperial Majesty, by your visits to Europe on the occasion of the Coronations of the late King Edward and his present Majesty, have had exceptional opportunities of making the acquaintance of persons who guide the affairs of nations and of those who represent much of what is best in modern Western life. You have mixed

freely in the society of many sorts and conditions of men of various nations, and you will forgive me for saying that you have acquired a wideness of outlook and a clearness of judgment of men and things that is exceptional in India and that has been of the greatest service to your State and to myself, my predecessors and others concerned with the Government of India

Your Highness has given practical evidence by sending your Imperial Service Troops, the famous Ganga Risala, to China and to Somaliland, that you are convinced of the identity of interest between the British Empire and the State of Bikanir, and the nature of their services in both countries showed that your men were imbued with the same spirit. Your Highness and Your Highness's troops thus worthily carried on the old tradition of magnificent loyalty which found such brilliant illustration during the Mutiny, and I cannot tell Your Highness with how much interest I have perused the old records of those services which you were kind enough to send for my information. You have given more recent proof of your desire to assist the forces of the Crown by the addition of yet another 500 men, the Sardul Light Infantry, to your Imperial Service

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Troops, and I should add that it was an honour and a pleasure to me to have the opportunity of inspecting your State Force a few days ago, and I was much impressed with their smartness and efficiency. I should like also on this occasion to bear testimony to the invaluable assistance which Your Highness, in conjunction with H H the Maharaja of Gwalior and H H the Regent of Jodhpur, by your personal exertions and experience and as members of the Coronation Durbar Committee, rendered to me and to my Government in assisting to make that great ceremony the success that it was.

In the field of education Your Highness has shown yourself to be possessed of wide and liberal views, and you yourself have from the first been a whole hearted supporter and benefactor of the Mayo College, where you were educated an institution primarily intended for the education of the Rulers and aristocracy of Rajputana as a whole, but now attended by youths from many other parts of this great continent, and in the success of which I and the Government of India take the greatest possible interest. To refer to the internal affairs of Your Highness's State, the record has been one of phenomenal progress and develop-

ment While violating no reasonable custom or tradition of the people, you have, with true statesmanship, introduced improvements and reforms without destroying the old time characteristics of your State During the last few days when inspecting your Public Offices, the Secretariat, the Walker Nobles School and the Dungee Memorial College, and when travelling over your railway and enjoying the beauties and comforts of Lallgarh I have often wished that the shade of Your Highness's famous ancestor, Bakaji, with his bands of hardy followers, could have been at my side and have seen what I saw His was a genius suited to the needs of his times, and his memory is venerated on this account and for this reason Though he would have marvelled at what he saw I am confident that he would also have approved He would have rejoiced that his illustrious descendant has, in altered conditions and by changed methods, while maintaining all that of old was good, devoted his energies to the good of the State which he founded

The Note on your Administration which Your Highness has been good enough to send me forms most interesting and instructive read-

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

ing It speaks of carefully considered improvements in every branch of the administration, and of measures calculated to secure the happiness and good government of your people I see from it that the revenues of the State have more than doubled during the time of Your Highness's rule, that communications by road have been extended, that the mileage of the railways is approximately ten times what it was, and here let me thank Your Highness for the honour you did me in asking me to open your latest extension, the Bikanir Ratangarh chord line The grant for education has been more than trebled and the Nobles School and the Dungar Memorial College have been constructed Coal mines have been worked, a water-supply scheme for the capital has been carried out The Police have been reorganised, and crime has decreased to a surprising extent, dacoity being now almost a thing of the past The judicial system has been reorganised, and justice expedited with great wisdom Your Highness has emphasised the necessity of decentralisation, the delegating of authority and responsibility, and the personal inspection of the work of subordinates one of the most important points in all systems of Indian

administration. In that Note, as in Your Highness's speech, you have made mention of the aspirations of your State in the matter of irrigation with special reference to the Sutlej Canal Project. I can well understand Your Highness's anxiety in this matter, but no papers on the subject have yet been submitted to me, and I must content myself with a promise of a sympathetic consideration when it comes before the Government of India. It would be quite impossible for me to enumerate all the measures of reform adopted during Your Highness's administration, but the endeavours that have been made by free money grants to improve the water-supply and the efforts devoted to encourage the growth of trees caught my attention as particularly appropriate in so thirsty a land as this, and no one can fail to appreciate the amenities which Your Highness has added to your Capital in beautiful buildings, and fine roads and parks. These are some of the results to which Your Highness can contentedly point, but below them all lies the mainspring of finance to which Your Highness has given so much attention. Finance is the backbone of all administration, and your firm grasp of that fact and the financial re-organisa-

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tion which you have effected will, I think, prove to be one of the most substantial reforms of all. I cannot pass over in silence the boons which Your Highness announced at the celebration of the twenty-fifth year of your accession.

You know my interest in education, and you can guess how pleased I was to see the extension of hostels among the measures to be taken, and the abolition of grain duties of every kind must prove a most welcome concession to all classes of Your Highness's subjects. I will not touch upon all the other headings of your announcement, but I should like to say how pleased I was at your creation of a People's Representative Assembly. Its powers will be not unlike those enjoyed by my Legislative Council, and judging from my own experience I do not think they will be abused, and I can honestly testify to the great advantage it has been to the Government of India to hear questions affecting the moral and material interests of the people frankly discussed. In my judgment the enlarged Councils have done nothing but good, and have been of great assistance in legislation, and I am confident that Your Highness will have the same experience in



Bikanir I tender to your Highness my warm congratulations upon granting to your people so liberal and progressive a measure It is a matter for congratulation that we now hear no more of that incessant strife between the Ruler and his Thakurs which disfigured the history of Bikanir during the course of the 19th century Your Highness has, I hope, by a policy of firmness and conciliation brought about that permanent harmony between Chiefs and Nobles that should be the natural relation between them to their mutual benefit and the benefit of the State as a whole, and I regard the privileges and honours to members of your aristocracy which Your Highness was pleased to announce in September as a happy omen of mutual understanding and good will

Last and not least I must commend Your Highness and the Political Officers with whom you have worked for the excellent relations that have marked your intercourse Their esteem for Your Highness has often come to my ears, and I am glad that your tact and their friendliness have made work easy and pleasant for both parties I think my audience may be interested if I quote a few words from His Highness's speech on the

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occasion of a banquet he gave in honour of Lord Elgin in 1896. He said —“I stand before you, ladies and gentlemen, but a boy with all my work and all my trials before me, and it is my most earnest wish that I should prove myself worthy of the position in which I have been placed. I want not only to be ruler of my people but their friend, and their best friend too. What I shall look to is this, that a successor of Your Excellency may at some future date honour me with a visit, and if he should then express approval of what I have been doing, I shall indeed be happy.” The promise of those simple, manly and affecting words has been more than fulfilled, and Your Highness on this great occasion must regard with satisfaction the completion of the first stage of your rule. We all hope that there are many more stages to be travelled in the march, and we know that it is Your Highness's firm intention that they shall be marked by still further measures of improvement and progress. It has been a great pleasure to us to meet again the Maharajah Kumar Sri Sardul Singh, whom we had the pleasure of seeing in the performance of his duties as page to His Imperial Majesty at Delhi, and to see that, thanks to his careful

upbringing under Your Highness and Colonel Wake, he is being trained in the way that he should go. I can wish him nothing better than that he may follow in his father's footsteps, and continue the noble work which he has carried so far.

My remarks would not be complete without some mention of the excellent sport which has been shown us during our visit to the State. Bikanir has a world-wide reputation in this respect, and it has been as interesting as it has been pleasant to have had opportunities of being present and taking part in your famous sandgrouse shoots, and especially of witnessing Your Highness's mastery of the art of shooting, of which I have so often heard. I must not keep you longer, but I cannot conclude without thanking your Highness most heartily on behalf of all your guests and especially on behalf of Lady Hardinge and myself, for the extremely pleasant and profitable days we have spent in the Bikanir State and for the perfection of the arrangements made for our comfort and enjoyment. Every one here must feel as I do that this has been a truly memorable occasion, and that it is as much a privilege as a pleasure to have taken part in the celebration.

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of the completion by His Highness of his first 25 years on the *Gadi*. In the years to come for all of us these days will ever remain days of pleasant memories and happy recollections. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the long life and continued happiness of His Highness, Colonel Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharajah of Bikanir and the ever increasing prosperity of his State.

## OPENING OF HAMIDIA LIBRARY AT BHOPAL

[His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Hamidia Library at Bhopal on the 5th, December, 1912, and in doing so, made the following speech] —

YOUR HIGHNESS,—I am very much touched by the reference you have made to the work done by my grandfather in India in the cause of education, when its blessings were but little appreciated. His example has inspired me with the desire to follow worthily in his footsteps, and among the manifold cares which occupy my attention there is none that is nearer my heart than the desire that, during my tenure of office, the basis of Primary education may be so widened, that elementary knowledge may gradually become the birthright of the poorest of the land. At the same time, it is my earnest hope that the profession of school-master may become one of the most honoured of all, and that the whole tone of the teaching given may be raised so that its true end and object may, with greater certainty, be accomplished, and the generations of young men who

year by year go forth into the world and, each in turn, hold the honour and welfare of India in their hands, may ever be more and more fit, not only to maintain but to raise the tradition of the various professions and occupations, and while exhibiting a constantly increasing efficiency in the various walks of life, may bear testimony to the value of their yearly training by the steady development of individual character

Your Highness has very truly remarked that an educational policy to be successful must include female education. You have doubtless realised that the principal difficulty in its development lies in the conservatism of the people themselves, which varies in strength from Province to Province and from District to District, in its reluctance to allow the girls of India to participate in that enlightened instruction which, I am glad to say, is slowly but surely passing over the land. There is no question that this reluctance is gradually being overcome but the progress is slow, and I can only hope that the stimulus of Your Highness's energetic example may accelerate the speed, and that another generation will see almost as many girls at school as boys

## OPENING OF HAMIDIA LIBRARY AT BHOPAL

It may seem a little curious that in coming to open a library, I should have talked so little of books and so much of education, but, after all, the association is fairly intimate, and those who reach the highest rungs in the ladder of education would find their powers of progress crippled and their faculties starved if they had no access to the learning gathered by the wise men of their own and other countries, while culture would be a poor thing if it did not stimulate that interest in all that is going on in the greater world which it is part of the object of this library to foster and satisfy. I have been much interested to hear of Nawabzada Hamidullah Khan's educational career and I most cordially congratulate Your Highness upon the breadth of mind and wisdom by which you have been guided in this matter. I trust that his example may give an impetus to the cause of learning in Bhopal, which may never lose its force, and I feel it is a very happy inspiration which has led you to give his name to this institution. I have very great pleasure in declaring this library open. I name it the Hamidia Library, and I wish it a most happy and useful career.

## BHOPAL STATE BANQUET

*[A State Banquet was given by H H the Begum of Bhopal on December 5 1912 to which H E Lord Hardinge made the following reply] —*

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your Highness has alluded in flattering and friendly terms to the old connection between the family of the rulers of Bhopal and my own grandfather, and I most heartily reciprocate the feeling of goodwill to which Your Highness has given expression and it adds immensely to the pleasure of my visit here to know that we are now in the third generation renewing an ancestral friendship. My grandfather had the good fortune to be Governor General of India when the famous Sikandar Begum became Regent in 1847, and when I read the history of those times I feel that there can have been few incidents in his tenure of office that he could look back upon with greater satisfaction than the part assigned to him in that event.

The Bhopal State under Your Highness's rule has maintained and excelled its previous record of loyalty to the British Crown, and I



## BHOPAL STATE BANQUET

take leave here to remark that the earnest devotion to the throne of the leading Mussulman Houses of India going forth to meet as it does His Imperial Majesty's affectionate solicitude for his Mahomedan subjects must be to the King-Emperor a source of the liveliest satisfaction

In the case of Bhopal friendly relations date from 1778 in which year the British forces marching from Bengal to Bombay received valuable assistance from this State. In 1813 the connection with the British power was renewed, and in 1817 a Treaty of Alliance was concluded against the Pindaris. The words of Malcolm are evidence of the spirit in which that Treaty was regarded by the then ruler of the State. He says, "No obligations were ever more faithfully fulfilled." In the dark days of the Mutiny which occurred during the rule of Sikandar Begum, no Chief in the length and breadth of India proved a more staunch ally than Her Highness. She kept the peace throughout her own territories although the Moulvis in the city were preaching Jihad and her troops were threatening her life. The Agent to the Governor General at Indore, Colonel Duran, and many others were given

refuge and safety. Supplies and troops were sent to the assistance of the British troops as far north as Kalpi. The Begum Sahiba sent a force to quell the revolted troops of the Bhopal Contingent at Sehore and saved the Government Treasury there. In recognition of these services Queen Victoria conferred upon Her Highness the title of G. C. S. I. and granted to her Berasia Perganna which now forms a part of the State.

And if Her Highness was a faithful friend to the British Crown she was no less benefactress to her own State and the people. She liquidated the State debts, reformed the judiciary, the police and the mints. She abolished the pernicious system of revenue farming and trade monopoly and showed her solicitude for the welfare of her poorer subjects by personal tours of inspection and enquiry into their condition. I think it must always have been a source of keen satisfaction to my grandfather that he had seen Sikandar Begum's elevation to power in Bhopal. It is a source of equal gratification to me that the descendant of Sikandar Begum whom it is my privilege to meet now in Her Highness's beautiful capital has followed in the footsteps of her distinguished

## BHOPAL STATE BANQUET

ancestress, has fully maintained her loyal traditions and has carried even further her schemes for the amelioration of the condition of her subjects

Your Highness is the proud possessor of the Orders of the G C I E and G C S I and the King Emperor himself conferred upon you the decoration of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India at Delhi last year These are tokens of the King Emperor's friendship and regard for your Highness and of his recognition of your work as administrator Your Highness's sons Sahibzadas Nasrulla Khan and Obeidulla Khan have proved themselves your able co adjutors, and their services have been recognised by the conferment of the rank of Major in His Majesty's Indian Army and on the King-Emperor's birth day this year, I was glad to announce that Sahibzada Obeidulla Khan was made a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India

Your Imperial Service Troops are evidence of the readiness of the Bhopal State to take its part in the defence of the Empire Lord Kitchener spoke most favourably of their efficiency and I have no doubt that the additions to their numbers gratefully accepted by

His Majesty's Government last year will maintain the same high standard as it was. I know it is a source of disappointment to Your Highness that the Government of India were unable some years ago to utilise their services in the expedition against the Zakka Khel, but I am sure that should in future the opportunity offer they would acquit themselves most worthily.

In the matter of internal administration Your Highness's name is as well known as it is for its fidelity to the Crown. Your Highness has devoted to the good of your State and the people the results of the wide knowledge acquired in England and in travel in many countries of Europe and Asia, to the extent of which the interesting book which Your Highness has recently published is a speaking testimony. I need not recapitulate the steps that have been taken in recent years to improve the administration, but I must mention two matters of special importance in which Your Highness has set a brilliant example. I refer to the measures you have taken for the improvement of the lot of women and the interest you have taken in the important question of the higher education of the Chiefs and

## BHOPAL STATE BANQUET.

Nobles. It seems sometime almost to be forgotten that women are the mothers of men; so little has been done for them in some parts of India. The frightful infant mortality that prevails in the land and the lack of education among women of all classes are matters of universal knowledge on which I need not expatiate, but they are none the less of the most paramount importance in the life of all the peoples of India. The difficulties that lie in the way of improvement are immense but Your Highness as a woman who is also a ruler has opportunities which perhaps are given to no one else. That Your Highness has made splendid use of them is shown by the work done in the Lady Lansdowne Hospital, in the Madrassa Sultania and the Victoria Girls' School. Your Highness's pamphlet on the subject of the education of the rulers and nobility of India shows that Your Highness has given deep consideration to this important subject and it has done much to stimulate the movement. It is a matter in which I feel the greatest personal interest and to which I am ready to give all the support in my power.

I need detain you no longer but I must express my gratitude to Your Highness for the

heartiness of your welcome to Lady Hardinge and myself and for the excellent, pleasant and instructive visit to your wonderful State. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing the health of that enlightened and loyal Chief,—of our generous hostess Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Bhopal.

## THE BHOPAL MILITARY SCHOOL.

*[The following is the text of H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the laying of the Foundation stone of a Military School at Bhopal to be named the Hardinge Military School, on the 7th December, 1912.]*

YOUR HIGHNESS,—Though I am not a soldier myself, there is a very strong military tradition in my family. My grandfather earned a distinguished name on the field of battle, and I have a son in the army who I hope may follow in his great grandfather's footsteps, while my position in relation to the Indian Army demands my constant attention to military questions. Most gladly, therefore, do I accept the task you have proposed for me. I understand that the object Your Highness has in view is to provide firstly an honourable career for the cadets of noble families in Bhopal and, secondly, to secure that your troops, of whom you have so much reason to be proud, should be officered, and efficiently officered, by the flower of your own subjects. The scheme is one deserving of every support and sympathy, and under the eye of your Highness and Colonel Obeidullah Khan, I feel sure that it will prove a great success.

The most important point in connection with it, is that the instructors and resident masters should themselves be men of honourable record and good-breeding, such as can furnish not only teachers of the military art, but examples of all that a brave and chivalrous soldier and gentleman should be. A military career is by no manner of means all glory and glitter. The glitter comes through sustained hard work and monotonous drudgery, and glory, if it passes by a soldier's way, can seldom be won unless difficult lessons of self-reliance, self-control, discipline and courage have been well and thoroughly learned before the crisis comes. In laying this foundation stone I am very proud to think that this school will bear my grandfather's and my name, and while I hope that it may prove the greatest possible success for the purposes for which it is intended I have also little doubt that it will be a very happy home and training ground for brave young soldiers in years to come.



## THE NAGPUR MUNICIPALITY

[*HE Lord Hardinge received an Address of Welcome from the Nagpur Municipality on the 16th December 1912, to which His Excellency replied as follows*] —

GENTLEMEN,— Permit me to thank you most heartily for the warm words of welcome with which you have greeted me on my arrival in your historic city. You have referred in kindly terms to Lady Hardinge's presence here by my side, and I need hardly assure you that she desires to associate herself with me in expressing our gratitude for the hearty reception which you have given us. The territories entrusted to a Viceroy's care are so vast, and the distances to be travelled so immense, that it is only by the most methodical arrangement of his tours that he can hope to attain even a slight personal acquaintance with every portion of them and some are apt to escape even that attention.

But when I learned that Nagpur had not been visited officially by any of my immediate predecessors, I determined that I would pay

an early visit to this old Capital of the Central Provinces, and see what I could of it and of its people in the brief time at my disposal. I am well aware of the great progress and development that have been realised by the Central Provinces during the last few years, and knowing well that under the beneficent care of my friend, Sir Benjamin Robertson, Nagpur would suffer no neglect through my absence, I might have hesitated before turning my steps in this direction, but if I felt any hesitation, it has been removed by the kindness of your welcome, which made me feel that I was at home among friends the moment I set foot within your boundaries.

We have before us to-morrow a ceremony of great importance, and I do not think that you will expect me on the present occasion to do more than to express my pleasure at meeting you, but before I pass on I should like to say that the happy language in which you have referred to His Imperial Majesty's recent visit to India, and to your city, and to the Coronation Durbar, fill me with confidence as to the future, and if words have any meaning, all the message which His Majesty brought us is already ripening in the fruit of a better mutual

## THE NAGPUR MUNICIPALITY

understanding between all classes, and a brighter outlook for the people of this country

I will not detain you longer except to thank you once again for your cordial welcome, and to assure you that I shall make it my business to see that your expression of loyal devotion and affectionate recollection of their visit are brought to the ears of Their Imperial Majesties

## LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE NEW COUNCIL CHAMBER, NAGPUR

*[H. E. the Viceroy laid the foundation stone of the new Council Chamber, Nagpur, on the 17th December 1912. Their Excellencies drove to the function escorted by the 32nd Lancers and the Nagpur Volunteer Mounted Infantry. On arrival, Their Excellencies entered the shamiana in procession, amid a large gathering of the Civil and Military population of Nagpur. His Excellency being seated, the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner presented the representative members of the local bodies of the Central Provinces and Berar. After the presentation, the Hon'ble Mr Dadabhoy, C I E, read the Address of the local bodies of the Central Provinces, and the Hon'ble Mr Mudholkar of the local bodies of Berar. His Excellency then replied to the Addresses and laid the foundation stone. The following is the text of H. E. the Viceroy's speech] —*

GENTLEMEN,—The remarks I have to make for the most part apply with equal force to the Central Provinces and Berar, and I propose, therefore, to deal in a single reply with both the Addresses that I have had the pleasure of re-

ceiving It came with a shock of surprise to me to find that it is more than 40 years since a Viceroy officially visited Nagpur, when Lord Mayo came to open the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Jubbulpore, and thence came here by road Since that time, official visits to the Central Provinces have been limited to the distressing necessities of famine relief and have given a wide berth to this Capital I was not aware of this when I determined to take an early opportunity of coming to see you, but I hold myself particularly fortunate that I should have been able to time my journey for so happy an occasion as the present

You have asked me to look back on your Province as it was in the year 1862, and contrast it with what I see around me to day, and I have to thank you, and I am sure all present here will join me in thanking you, for the interesting and able reviews which have just been read and have enabled us to picture vividly the progress of these Provinces in every sphere of life, in every department of administration, and in every branch of human activity during the past half a century It is with no common feelings of satisfaction that I have listened to your descriptions of your Provinces and of the

economic and administrative changes which have made up their history for the past fifty years. They are at once an eloquent tribute to the blessings of the British administration and a proof of how much may be hoped for from the co-operation with it of the people of this country. And if I may venture to say so, one of the most striking features of this part of India is the warm feeling of mutual understanding and good-will which exists between those who are responsible for its Government and the people, and not least that portion of the people who take an interest in social and administrative problems and assist the officers of Government with their counsel and support. I shall not attempt to follow you through your review of the advance that has been made in railway development, of irrigation and public works; nor shall I endeavour to amplify the sketches you have given of your early annals and of the agricultural development of these Provinces. The early history of these Provinces tells of a rapid, almost a sudden, change from fear and insecurity to peace and wealth. Settled order and security you owe to the strength of British rule, but under its shelter you yourselves have done much to further its efforts in the direction

of the economic development of the country and the political education of its inhabitants. The lesson of self-help and confidence in Government which you have learned from the heavy losses which famine and plague have laid on you in the past, is plainly demonstrating its influence even amid the prosperity of to-day. It is only when the Government and people have together faced and surmounted difficulties and trials that one can find the atmosphere of contentment and confidence in the good-will of the Government, allied with justifiable pride in the progress jointly achieved and with a confident anticipation of still better things to come. That inspires your Addresses of to-day.

It is impossible for a newcomer to the Central Provinces to dissociate his mind from the romantic stories of sport and wild life which always seem to cling about the hills of the Satpuras, but here I find myself in the midst of a manufacturing city, a bustling, progressive and prosperous city whose smoky chimneys tell but little of the glamour of ancient history or modern sport, but much of the romance of commercial prosperity, of farsighted enterprise and of fortunes rapidly built up by the pioneers of the cotton trade such as Messers Tata and

Sons, of whose mills the people of Nagpur are so justly proud. You, gentlemen of the Central Provinces, tell me that the exploitation of your *manganese deposits began in the year 1900* and the rapid development of that enterprise is demonstrated by the fact that last year the manganese exported amounted to 519,000 tons. The Central Provinces are to be congratulated on their good fortune in possessing the finest ore in the world and some of the largest deposits of that metal, but I look forward to the day when this magnificent raw material will not be *merely exported for the benefit of manufacturers in a distant continent*, but will be used for the indigenous manufactures of steel, and will take its proper place in the industrial development of India.

You have been, as you say, fortunate in the officers of the Government who have occupied the position of Chief Commissioners, and I can readily believe you, for your present Chief Commissioner for more than a year held high office under my immediate eye and inspired me with the most absolute confidence in his fitness for his present post, while your late Chief Commissioner, Sir Reginald Craddock, established here a reputation which he conti-



nues to justify as my trusted colleague, councillor and friend But you will, I hope, allow me to say that your rulers, many of whom laid in the Central Provinces the foundations of great and well deserved reputations, have been very fortunate in the people amongst whom their lot was cast I rejoice to find how important and useful a part in the development of these Provinces has been played by the leading land-owners and capitalists, men whom wealth and landed influence have brought into prominence in the public life of the day, and to see that those who have most at stake in the future of these Provinces are also most to the fore in such movements as co operative credit, agricultural improvement urban betterment and social progress

You touched but lightly upon the subject of education, and I do not wish to tire you with a long string of figures, but it may be of interest to some of you to know that, in 1862, it has been estimated that in the Central Provinces you had not more than 100 schools with perhaps 5,000 scholars, while now your scholars number 312 000 That is an increase of 6,000 per cent and yet I hope it is but the starting point for a far broader expansion of the benefits

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of knowledge and culture throughout the whole population in both the Central Provinces and Berar. I do not feel certain that I appreciate the force of the request made in the Address from Berar that in future educational allotments granted for Berar may be specified, and I am doubtful whether it would be wise to fetter the discretion of the Local Government in the manner suggested, but I will have the point carefully considered at the conclusion of my tour. Meantime I must not lose this opportunity of congratulating the people of Berar upon their progressive spirit. The Female High School that is about to be started at Amraoti is the first of its kind in this part of the country, and is being opened in response to a demand for the higher education of women. In so enlightened an atmosphere it is bound to thrive, and I wish it every success, for a country which is content to leave its women in ignorance can never, in my opinion, be more than half educated. To the proposed Arts College I can only at present give my blessing. I am glad to hear that private liberality has enabled the project to be brought forward but cannot say more about it until a practicable scheme is submitted to the Govern-

ment When that happens, it will receive our sympathetic consideration The progress of education doubtless brings with it more complicated questions of administration, as those who in the past have been content to work and to exist begin to realise that human life is meant for fuller enjoyment and nobler aspiration, and as divergent interests come into clash a trained intelligence has the habit of asking the reason why, and authority has to look to it that its exercise be not arbitrary The Government have to realise that the gift of education will of itself increase the criticism to which, however honest its intention, its every step is exposed, but it is no bad thing that authority should be exercised with the utmost care Criticism and discussion have many advantages when they are fair and when they may do harm for the moment, but they are certain in the long run to lose their force

Speaking roughly, the history of these 50 years may be divided into two marked periods, the earlier a time of steadily increasing population and material prosperity, when the cultivator added acre after acre to the cultivated area without improving his method or providing security against famine, and the later, when

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through a calamitous cycle of famine and pestilence, the people emerged, if I may quote the words of an official memorandum, into an epoch not only bright with prosperity but illuminated with glimmering of the light of self-consciousness and self-realisation. These glimmerings have now become a steady glow and have imposed upon the Government a serious responsibility in guiding and fostering the new spirit of progress, and it is with a sense of that responsibility that the Government have granted you a Legislative Council.

Much consideration has been given to the means by which representatives from Berar may find a place on that body, and by which application of the legislative enactments, hereafter to be passed by, may be extended to Berar. The fundamental fact to be borne in mind is that, as the Law stands, the Legislative Council of the Governor General cannot under the existing statutes make laws to operate in Berar *suomotu*, except in reference to one or two very exceptional matters, and whatever Council is established in the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces, it will have no greater powers in this respect. If, therefore, it is desired to introduce the same law into both parts

of the combined administration of the Central Provinces and Berar, this can only be done by the extension of any Acts which the local Council may pass primarily for the Central Provinces and only by an order under the Foreign Jurisdiction Order in Council, with or without modification, to Berar, and it is this procedure which it is intended to adopt. In other words, although the Provincial Council can only legislate for the Central Provinces, yet in framing its measures it will have to bear in mind the possibility of their subsequent extension in an identical or modified form to Berar, although the Act itself cannot provide for this extension, which must be effected by a subsequent separate order of the Governor-General in Council, in exercise of the powers delegated to him by the Crown. No arrangement is possible by which the people of Berar can directly elect members to the Central Provinces Council. It will, however, be possible to establish a system of election in Berar itself, and the persons so elected can subsequently be nominated as members of the Provincial Council, provided that the Regulations which will govern that Council are so drafted as to render eligible for nomination a

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resident of Berar By the method thus outlined we shall be able to secure the selection of candidates from Berar by election even Although they will actually sit upon the Provincial Council by nomination, and while the Council will not be able to pass Laws which of themselves will be current in Berar, then applicability to the conditions of Berar can be considered, while they are under discussion, and if it is expedient these measures can be subsequently extended to Berar It will thus be seen that, although the position is complicated by the special Statute of Berar which has necessitated this somewhat circuitous system, members chosen by the electorates which will be created in Berar will, in effect sit in the local Council The exact details of the constitution of the electorates both in the Central Provinces and Berar are at present under discussion with the Chief Commissioner, and as they will ultimately require the approval of the Secretary of State, no pronouncement can at present be made with regard to them, but it is hoped that, consistently with the principles which have governed the introduction of this great reform of the enlarged Legislative Councils throughout

British India, they will be bound to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of this Chief Commissionership, and secure that cordial co-operation with Government which it is the aim of this momentous change to achieve

As regard the representation of Berar on the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, it is the intention of the Government, following the analogy of other Provinces, to propose the substitution of a seat to be filled by election by the Non Official Members of the Provincial Council for the Member who is now chosen by the District Council and Municipalities in the Central Provinces, and it is under consideration whether the Regulations governing the Imperial Council can be so amended as to permit of a member from Berar filling this new seat, should he be successful in his candidature. Beyond this, looking to the size of the Governor-General's Council and the claims of other parts of the country, it is impossible to go, but in comparison with other provinces the claims of the Central Provinces and Berar would thus have been met to an adequate extent

You have learned the necessity of self-help and you have learned co-operation among yourselves and with the Government. I trust that

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

you will carry these lessons into the sphere of that wider political enfranchisement with which your Province is shortly to be entrusted, and I shall lay this foundation stone in the confident hope that the atmosphere of the Central Provinces and Berar Legislative Council will be one of sound political sense, of vivifying and helpful criticism, of practical work for the public benefit, and with the prayer that God's blessing may rest upon the deliberations that shall take place within the building destined to rise upon this stone



## THE JUBBALPORE ADDRESS

*[In reply to an Address of Welcome at Jabbalpore on the 19th Dec, 1912 H E the Viceroy said] —*

GENTLEMEN —It is quite impossible to mistake the tone of the hearty good will which inspires every sentence of the Address with which you have welcomed me to Jubbalpore, and the pleasure of my brief visit is greatly enhanced by your kindly greeting. The Central Provinces have seen less of the Viceroys than most parts of India, and in the old time there was perhaps good reason for this when your communications were bad and you were difficult of access, but in these latter days that explanation will not pass, for I doubt whether there is any railway junction in India of which the name is better known to the travelling public than Jubbalpore. I knew its name and fame so well that I was quite determined to come and see it before I left your Province, and if I did not come by train myself I think I choose the wiser part, for I shall never forget the beauty and charm of the road by which I travelled here from Nagpur.

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Forsyth wrote in a book that most of you know well — ‘Nothing can in my opinion exceed the exhilarating effect of a march at such a season with pleasant companions through a country teeming with interest in its scenery, its people and its natural productions such as is this region of the Neibudda Valley. And though I must have marched a great deal more rapidly than Forsyth ever did, I saw enough to feel convinced that those words were fully justified. The great ceremony I have just performed at Nagpur has equal significance for you and constitutes for the Central Provinces the seal of recognition of the new spirit of progress now spreading throughout this vast Peninsula. To that spirit has His Imperial Majesty given a gracious message of hope, and I shall not fail to convey to him the warm words of affectionate loyalty in which you have referred to him and to his recent visit to this distant portion of his Empire.

Let me thank you once more for your cordial welcome and tell you that your prayers and good wishes give strength to my hands and courage to my heart in carrying on the labours and responsibilities of the great office which it is my privilege to fill.

## BHARATPUR STATE BANQUET SPEECH

*[The following is the text of H E the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet held at Bharatpur on the 21st Dec 1912] —*

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—On behalf of Lady Hardinge and myself, I should like to express my warmest thanks for the terms in which you have proposed our health and for the cordiality with which it has been received. It is quite true that my tour now drawing to a close has been long and strenuous, but to me it has been full of interest and pleasure, for it has given me opportunities of making myself acquainted, at any rate in some small measure, with the wants and aspirations and the life and occupation of the people in the Punjab and Central Provinces, in a way that is not possible by merely sitting at headquarters and reading about them, and it has enabled me to have the privilege, which I value very highly of strengthening the ties of the friendship I have formed with the Rulers of some of the principal States in India.

Your Highness, in common with many other Princes in India, can look back through history upon the great and daring deeds of

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your ancestors The ramparts of your city may serve to remind you of the courage, genius and statesmanship of Maharaja Surajmal, who captured the place from his rival, designed and constructed its elaborate and remarkable defence, and made the city the Capital of his wide possessions His successors have held the place through many a stubborn fight, and, whatever the merits of the cause for which they strove, have displayed the unflinching courage and the tenacity of purpose demanded by the traditions of their house I am told that this Palace in which we are received to night as Your Highness's guests was built by Maharaja Balwant Singh for the reception of his European friends in 1826, after his installation by Lord Combermere The friendship between the British Government and Your Highness's State has subsisted firm and unbroken ever since the foundation, and the ties of attachment have been knit more and more closely During the rule of your distinguished grandfather, Maharaja Bir Jaswant Singh, the administration of the State was improved in many directions Differences were adjusted and the relations with the British Government were cemented by agree-

ments No act of Sir Jaswant Singh was, however, more important or more calculated to consolidate the friendship between his State and the British Government than the raising by his Highness of two Regiments of Imperial Service Troops in 1890 The State has offered troops for active service on various occasions and the Transport Corps was actually employed in the Tibet Expedition in 1904 and did yeoman service at Delhi last year I congratulate Your Highness on the high state of efficiency, which, I am told, prevails in both Corps, and I look forward to inspecting them to-morrow

For the present, the Government of India stand in a position of peculiar responsibility Ever since 1911, we have been charged with the education and training of Your Highness, while for seventeen years past the administration of the State has been conducted under the supervision of our officers Your Highness is still a boy and you have not entered upon those grave responsibilities which await the mature years of your life But the boy is father of the man, and no one who has the pleasure of knowing Your Highness can help auguring well for your future The loving care and

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wise forethought of Her Highness the Maji Saheba, which I cannot commend too highly, have shielded you from boy-hood ills, and will, I know, carry you far upon the road we would have you go. At the Mayo College, you have the advantage of admirable teachers and a carefully devised system of education. While, besides your foster father, Dhau Bakshi Reghubir Singh, Her highness has appointed special tutors to guide your studies. Seeing that the guardianship and education of Your Highness are in such capable hands, and knowing as I do Your Highness's character and abilities, I have the happiest anticipation for Your Highness's career. I shall follow your growth and development with warm interest, and it is my earnest hope that, as a youth and man, you will fulfil the bright promise of your boyhood. I am sure that all here present will wish to join me in thanking His Highness most heartily for the warm welcome he has given us, the excellent arrangements he has made for our comfort and the magnificent sport he has provided, our only regret being that His Highness was unable to share it with us, and I ask you to rise with me and drink to the health of H. H. the Maharajah of Bharatpur.

## DELHI MUNICIPALITY,

[On the 23rd December, 1912, when the Procession started for the State entry to the new Imperial Capital City (Delhi), Lord Hardinge was presented with an Address of Welcome by the Delhi Municipality, to which His Excellency made the following reply] —

GENTLEMEN I have listened with much pleasure to the expression of the gratification felt by you and the citizens of Delhi whom you represent at our arrival here to-day, and I thank you very warmly for the kind words of welcome, which you have given to Lady Hardinge and myself As you have rightly stated in your address the formal entry of the Viceroy and the Council into your city definitely marks its position as the Capital of the Indian Empire It is a dignity which you show with legitimate pride and which I am confident that you will endeavour to justify In the course of ages your ancient city has seen many changes It is here that a devout tradition has placed the site of the city of the Pandavas whose glories are celebrated in the great religious epic of

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the Hindus. At the dawn of Indian history it was the seat of a powerful Hindu dynasty. In the ebb and flow of Mahomedan conquest its possession became the symbol and the proof of sovereignty in Northern India. When the Moguls consolidated their power it was Delhi which they chose as the Capital of the greatest Empire which the Eastern world had hitherto known. Since the fall of that Empire your city has undergone many vicissitudes. There has been hardly a generation in which its fortunes have not formed the turning-point of Indian history. It is now once again the capital of a great Empire. There is an Indian saying that a city is made either by a river or by a rainfall or by a king. Your city has many natural advantages and these advantages have no doubt determined its history in the past. But it is not to them that Delhi owes the position which it is now called upon to occupy. It owes it to the express desire of the King-Emperor that the Capital City of his Indian Empire should be associated with the great traditions of Indian History and that the administration of the present should have its centre in a spot hallowed to Indian sentiment by the memories of Indian



glory in the past. You recognise in your address that the dignity which now falls on Delhi has its responsibilities and I am glad to note that you have determined to accept those responsibilities to the full. I must warn you that they will not be light. Yours must become a Capital City not only in name but in fact. You must make your town a model of municipal administration. Your institutions, your public buildings, your sanitation must be an example to the rest of India. To attain these results will demand on your part much sustained effort and the cultivation of a high sense of public duty. I can promise you that the Government of India will be prepared to sustain you in those efforts by every means in their power. We shall not forget when building a new Delhi outside your walls that there exists an old Delhi beside us which claims our interest and our assistance. For my own part I shall rejoice in every evidence of the increased prosperity which I confidently believe that our advent will bring to you, and I can assure you of my fullest sympathy in every effort which tends to advance the welfare of your city and its inhabitants.

## SPEECH AT DIWAN-I AM

*[The following is the full text of H E the Viceroy's Address read by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson on his Excellency's behalf —]*

YOUR HONOUR, YOUR HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

Twelve months ago His Majesty the King-Emperor announced his decision "to transfer the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient capital of India" The entry of the Government of India into Delhi to-day is in accordance with and gives effect to His Majesty's decision The new Delhi which is to form a permanent memorial of His Majesty's visit still remains to be constructed but from to-day Delhi is definitely and in fact the seat of the Government of India and the Capital of the Indian Empire It was right that this occasion which I am convinced will have its own significance in the evolution of Indian history should be marked by a ceremony of a formal character Nor could a more fitting place be found for that ceremony than this Hall where we are brought at once

into direct connection with the memorials and traditions of India's great past and are able to offer to the Indian people the clearest proof of our desire to maintain in our present administration the spirit of what is best in Indian history. It was for this reason that I considered it appropriate that our first official act should take place and these memorials of an historic past in the Hall where the builder of our present Delhi held his court, where the Emperor Aurangzeb must have heard the daring voice of the Sikh prophet proclaim the advent of an Empire greater than the great Moguls. But the ceremony to day has a second purpose. Fifty four years ago the Government of India handed over Delhi to the care of the Punjab. To day we resume that charge and Delhi will pass from the province with which it has been so long and so honourably connected into the direct charge of the Government of India.

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor has told us in glowing language how Delhi first came to be entrusted to the Punjab and some of the ruling Chiefs came to the rescue at Delhi. You will all forgive me a little tinge of personal pride in the reflection that Maharaja Ranbir Singh who is among those who

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have received honourable mention from Sir Louis Dane's lips was the son of that Gulab Singh whom my grand-father placed upon the throne of Kashmir. While, besides the present Maharaja of Kashmir, I number many personal friends among the descendants of those other Chiefs who did such loyal service, not a few of whom it is a great pleasure to me to welcome and to see around me here to day. Lord Lawrence who did so much for England said — "In the quality of the civil and military officers under my control, in the excellence of the Punjab force which has been raised, trained and disciplined under the civil government, in the generous loyalty of the Chiefs and peoples as much as in the valour of our British troops did I find the means of securing public tranquillity."

The Punjab was found to be a tower of strength to the Empire. And again in after years when leaving India for good, almost his last exhortation to British officials was to be just and kind to the people of this country. Such language shows what manner of man he was and doubtless my grand father had a shrewd idea of his transcendent qualities when he selected him as the first Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab.

upon its annexation after the first Sikh war Sir Louis Dane went on to recount how the Punjab has acquitted itself of its stewardship, and it may well be proud of the message of gratitude which Delhi has sent it at the moment of parting company His Honour at the same time gave expression to a very natural regret at the severance of Delhi from his own administration, but I confess that I look at the transaction from an entirely different point of view The question at issue is not who should have the honour of administering Delhi and its surroundings It is rather a question of the restoration to India of one of her ancient traditions as a symbol of the community of interests and sentiment between Great Britain and India and that the ancient capital of the Emperor of India only more becomes the seat of a Government that serves a dynasty which has Indian interests at heart as closely as those of any other part of the British Empire We may comprehend the note of pathos which now and again made itself heard in his Honour's speech We may sympathise with the note of pardonable pride in the achievements of his Government and we may hold the note of satisfaction to be justified But

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

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the backbone of the defence of the Indian Empire whether against internal disorder or against foreign aggression, there can be no fear that the character of the Punjab administration should lose in the future any of those high qualities, manly sympathy with a manly people, nerve, endurance and vigour to which in the past its long and honorable record has given it a just and abiding claim. On the other hand I am sure that Delhi will not suffer from the change. She will now be under the fostering care of the Imperial Government in a way that no other city of India has ever been, and while I can foresee her progress in education, in sanitation, in prosperity and in beauty, I hope that by the careful selection that I have made of officers of the Punjab to carry on the work of administration, continuity of knowledge and of sympathy with the people entrusted to their care, which are so vital to a peaceful, happy and progressive administration, will be firmly secured.

There are some who deny that there is any justification for the selection of Delhi as the seat of the Government of India and maintain that such ancient names as Kanauj, Lokhot, Taxila, Patna, not to speak of Agra or Calcutta,

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to my ear these notes are drowned in the triumphant chorus of a Great City come to its own once more and now the capital of an Indian Empire far more extensive, progressive and prosperous than the India ruled by any of its former conquerors. We may indeed sympathise with the Government of the Punjab on their loss of Delhi, but it would have been inconsistent with the destiny proclaimed for Delhi by the King-Emperor himself that it should at one and the same time become the seat of the Imperial Government of India and yet in its own province lack the status and dignity even of a provincial capital. The Province of the Punjab still remains a goodly province which any man may well be proud of the task of administering. Thanks to the peace that has prevailed for many years, and to the magnificent canal system that has been introduced, the Punjab has a future of prosperity before it that can hardly be rivalled by any province of India. The services to Delhi and the Empire of the great succession of Punjab administrators will continue to be numbered among the Punjab's proudest traditions, and so long as the sturdy and manly races of that great province constitute as they have constituted in the past,



the backbone of the defence of the Indian Empire whether against internal disorder or against foreign aggression, there can be no fear that the character of the Punjab administration should lose in the future any of those high qualities, manly sympathy with a manly people, nerve, endurance and vigour to which in the past its long and honourable record has given it a just and abiding claim. On the other hand I am sure that Delhi will not suffer from the change. She will now be under the fostering care of the Imperial Government in a way that no other city of India has ever been, and while I can foresee her progress in education, in sanitation, in prosperity and in beauty, I hope that by the careful selection that I have made of officers of the Punjab to carry on the work of administration continuity of knowledge and of sympathy with the people entrusted to their care which are so vital to a peaceful, happy and progressive administration, will be firmly secured.

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possess far stronger titles to such imperial honour. Far be it from me to attempt the task of arbiter amid these varying claims, but as we turn the dusty pages of the much mutilated volume of history, some of them well preserved and clearly written and some obliterated and almost illegible, as we turn these pages over, we note among the places that find recurring mention, now under this name and now under another, few that fill more chapters in mediæval and modern times than Delhi, and fewer still that can trace their annals further back into dim antiquity than this same Delhi and the country round her.

At Indraprastha was found the capital of the Pandu Kingdom by Yudhisthira, that monarch of olden story, and it was here that, firmly seated on his throne he determined to signalise his paramount sovereignty by the solemn ceremony of the Aswamedha, and it was not far from here that a few years later was fought on the field of Kurukshetra that mighty warfare that fills the pages of the grand old epic, the Mahabharata. The two stone pillars of Asoka brought hither by Feroz Shah stand as a record of one of the greatest and widest rulers India ever produced, but the an-

nals of Delhi are lost in oblivion for many a long century until we find it once more re-peopled and rebuilt by Anangpal whom tradition asserts to have been a direct descendant of his great forerunner, and the name of Delhi first appears under the auspices of this dynasty whose representatives still hold a high place among the aristocracy of Rajputana. As we turn further pages over we come to clearer writing and find another great Rajput clan the Chauhans succeeding to Turis and the name of Prithwari throwing a parting ray of splendour over the disappearance of the last Hindu rulers of Delhi under the name of Rai Pithora. His fame still lives among the people, the theme of many a popular ballad, the hero of countless feats of arms and gallantry. To this day may be seen the Lal Kot or citadel of the fortress built as a protection against those Mahomedan invaders who finally brought about his fall and there is an iron pillar set up there which bears inscriptions by both Chouhan and Tur King though it really belongs to a much older period and is one of the most interesting memorials of Hindu supremacy in India.

Next we find near by, writ large in the famous Kutub Minor and other stately build-

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ings, the record of the dynasty founded by Kutbuddin Aibay, and not long afterwards another dynasty produced that fine old fighting fortress under Ghiasuddin Toghlak who gave Delhi new birth in the mighty fortress of Toghlukbad, and Sultan Feroz Shah Toghlak who not only left behind him another Delhi in Ferozabad but to quote from his own diary of 500 years go "By the guidance of God was led to rebuild and repair the edifices and structures of former kings which had fallen into decay" The next great land mark of the story is Purta Killa begun by Sher Shah, a mighty man of valour as well as a wise and benevolent ruler, and finished by Humayun the father of the famous Akbar, and later still built by Akbar's grandson comes modern Delhi or Shahjahana-bad whose beauties lie around me as I speak I lightly dipped into page after page of the story and made no attempt to follow it out in detail but I think I have said enough to show that through the ages as far back as tradition goes the glamour of a great and imperial city has illuminated the neighbourhood of imperial Delhi But I need hardly remind you that to us the greatest and most memorable event of all is the historic pronouncement made by his

Imperial Majesty in Durbar last year when he proclaimed Delhi to be for ever the permanent capital of the Indian empire under the benign rule of our great and good King-Emperor and His successors Of this landmark in the history of India the monument has yet to be built

I have dwelt thus upon the noble monuments of a few of the great rulers who have held their court in the different Delhis, but there are many other pages which tell a different story I need not remind you that the field of Panipat hard by, in three of the most decisive battles of Asia, twice crowned the noble arms with victory and a third time shattered the Maharatta power Nor need I tell you of Lord Lake on the other side of the river which gave to England her Indian empire That Empire was strengthened and consolidated after the great siege to which you, Sir, have referred at length, but the city has stood many an other scene of battle as well as of civil strife Many times has she been spoiled and more than once the whim of an Emperor has transferred her inhabitants in their thousands to new and distant capitals As we look around us on the mighty relic of the olden time we may think

with pride of the past glories of half forgotten dynasties. But let us not forget that this glory was often dearly purchased with the tears of the people. You, Sir, have recounted with satisfaction the administrative achievements of the Government of Punjab in the discharge of its duties towards the city and people of Delhi, and your story is not a narrative of sanguinary victories or of massive fortress or noble palaces built, but a plain unvarnished tale of material improvements and increasing trade and prosperity. In this there is little romance but the contrast is one of which England may well be proud, and though I greatly hope that the new city soon destined to arise may prove not altogether unworthy of the great and ancient monuments with which it will be surrounded, yet it is not to such things as these that England will point in the days to come as the beauty of one of the brightest jewels which adorn her crown, but rather to the peace, happiness and contentment of the millions over whom her King Emperor exercises sway, to the trust and confidence which she has been able to repose on their loyalty, and perhaps most proudly of all to the generous share which she has been able to give

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and to give with gladness to the sons of India in sharing her councils and in shaping the destiny of this great and wonderful country of which this city of Delhi, recreated as it is under different and happier auspices, may we trust with God's grace, will continue to be for long future ages the noble Capital of a great Empire of ever increasing happiness and prosperity May the blessings of the Almighty for ever guide and direct those who in future from this Imperial city shall govern this great Empire for the good of the people and their steady advancement on the path of progress and civilisation under the protection and regis of the British Crown

## THE NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS' ADDRESS

*[The following reply was delivered by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson on His Excellency's behalf to the Address presented in Delhi on the 24th December by the non official members of the Supreme Legislative Council] —*

It is to me a source of a very great pleasure to receive an address on this memorable occasion from the non-official members of my Legislative Council who have assembled here to-day from every part of India to give me a hearty welcome to the new capital. I thank you warmly for the cordial expression of your good wishes to me and to the Government of India, and I can only assure you of my firm belief that the new epoch of progress and advancement upon which we have entered and to which you have referred will be an era of happiness and prosperity to India and her people. You have alluded to the King Emperor's message of hope. May I add one of faith. I have faith in India. I have faith in her future and I have faith in her people. It is the solemn duty of Government to promote the best interests of



## THE NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS' ADDRESS.

India and her people and under divine guidance, we shall not falter in this course. Again I thank you for your wishes and your presence here to-day.

## THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, DELHI.

*[His Excellency the Viceroy inaugurated the opening of the second term of the Reformed Council before a large and brilliant gathering on 27th January, 1913. The spacious Council Chamber in the temporary Secretariat was packed to the full with Civil and Military officials and their wives and the leading citizens of Delhi. The Members also attended in large number. Among the distinguished visitors were —Lady Hardinge and the Hon'ble E. S. Montagu, Under Secretary of State for India, and Lord Sardinia.]*

*Punctually at 11, the proceedings began with the swearing in of the Members, Sir G. F. Wilson presiding. This hardly over, the Viceroy, who had his right arm in a sling and looked aged and pale, entered the Council Chamber at 11-30 and received a most splendid and enthusiastic ovation from the members of the Council, in which visitors in the galleries participated, and took his seat amidst loud and prolonged cheers. He spoke clearly, and every word of his opening address, which was long and eloquent, was clearly heard throughout the hushed*

## THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, DELHI

*and crowded house, a deep impression being made upon all present*

*His Excellency the Viceroy, in opening the first session of the Legislative Council in Delhi, said] —*

Although I have not yet recovered from my wounds and have been compelled, under doctor's orders, to abstain from all public business of every kind, I have felt not only a desire but that it is my duty to come here to-day to open the first session of my Legislative Council in Delhi and to give a cordial welcome to the newly elected and newly appointed members of my Council. I am sure that at the same time none of you will begrudge me the expression of regret for those who have not returned, since after two years of loyal and active co-operation with my Government in the Legislative work of the Government of India, I regard them not only as former colleagues in Council, but also as friends. I am delighted to see some of the former Members of my Council again in their places, and I am confident that they will again bring to our Council the same spirit of harmony, good-will and legislative ability as during the past two years that I have had the honour of presiding over their deliberations. As regards the new Members of my

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Council, I bid them a cordial welcome, and I am sure that I can count on them to maintain the same high standard of dignity in debate as has so markedly distinguished our deliberations in the past. I feel deeply grateful to you all for the warmth of your reception here to day.

I always knew that I could count on your sympathy in the suffering that has been my lot during the past few weeks, and if there has been one thing that has tended to alleviate those sufferings, it has been the knowledge of sympathy shown towards me by all classes, creeds and communities throughout the length and breadth of India. I should like to take this opportunity, when addressing my Council, who represent the whole of British India, to express my profound gratitude for the genuine outburst of sympathy and the devout prayers and good wishes that have been heard on every side, and, if I may be allowed to say so, I feel convinced that those prayers have not been unanswered. When five weeks ago I had recovered consciousness and was able to think over what had passed, my feelings were in the first instance those of profound gratitude to Almighty God for His merciful protection of Lady Hardinge and myself, of real grief for the poor man who

had lost his life in the performance of his duty, of deep disappointment that it were possible that such misguided men as those who plotted and committed such a useless crime could now be found in India, and of sorrow at the thought of the injury to the sentiments of the whole of the people of India, who would, I knew, regard with horror and detestation the perpetration of a crime which is contrary to their own precepts and instincts of humanity and of loyalty, as well as to their religious principles. The gratitude that I felt at the miraculous preservation by the Almighty of Lady Hardinge and myself from the hand of the assassin was, I know, also deeply felt throughout India, but words fail me when I think of the cruel murder of those humble people who were ruthlessly killed, and I deeply deplore the loss which their families have suffered.

In my desire for kindly intercourse with the people and accessibility to them, I have always discouraged excessive precautions, and I trusted myself and Lady Hardinge more to the care of the people than to that of the Police. If it was an error, it is an error that I am proud of, and I believe it may yet prove not to have been an entirely mistaken confidence, for out of evil

good may come. Is it too much to hope that the storm of public indignation evoked at the outrage may give Indian terrorists cause for sensible and humane reflection and repentance? It is difficult to believe that these individuals are a class apart, and that they do not belong to the communities and mix with their fellow-beings. Are they really susceptible to no influence and no advice? Have they no contact with moderate and wiser men? Still, whatever I may feel on the subject of the crime itself, I only wish to assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course.

What I have said so far has been somewhat of a personal character, but I have one word more to say to the people of India, which I say with a profound sense of the gravity of the import of my words. I need hardly recall to the memory of anybody that the recent incident is not an isolated episode in the history of India, but that during the past few years, both Indians and Europeans, loyal servants of the Government of India, who have been less

fortunate than I have been and undeserving of the cruel fate meted out to them, have been stricken down by the hand of the assassin. These deplorable events cast a slur on the fair name of India and the Indian people, to whom I know they are thoroughly repellent, and I say to the people of India, not merely as a Viceroy intensely jealous of the honour of the country that he has been called upon to govern, but as one of the many millions in India of the fellow subjects of our King Emperor and one who loves India and the Indian people amongst whom he is living—I say that this slur must be removed and the fair fame of India must be restored to a high and unassailable plane.

Knowing by the kindly and genuine manifestations of sympathy received from every side how profoundly repulsive such crimes are to the people of India, it may be asked what remedy can be applied to prevent their recurrence. To this I would reply that such crimes cannot be dismissed as the isolated acts of organised conspiracies, in which the actual agent of the crime is not always the most responsible. The atmosphere which breeds the political murderer is more easily created

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

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than dispelled. It can only be entirely and for ever dispelled by the display and enforcement of public opinion in a determination not to tolerate the perpetration of such crimes and to treat as enemies of society not only those who commit crimes, but also those who offer any incentives to crimes. Amongst such incentives to crime should be included every intemperance of political language, and methods likely to influence ill-balanced minds and lead them by insidious stages to hideous crimes. The universal condemnation throughout the whole of India of the crime of the 23rd December and the anxiety shown for the detection of the criminals have, however, filled me with hope for the future, and have inspired me with confidence in the determination of the people of India to stamp out from their midst the fungus growth of terrorism and to restore to their beautiful motherland an untarnished record of fame. Imbued as I am with this hope and confidence, my faith in India, its future and its people remains unshaken, and if, as I confidently anticipate, the realisation of my faith is confirmed, then I may add that the two innocent lives so sadly lost on the 23rd December will not have been sacrificed in vain.

I will not further take up your time and I fear I shall not be able at present to preside over your proceedings I should have liked to shake you each personally by the hand, but you see my arm is still in a sling So I am sure you will all take the will for the deed and will also forgive me for leaving you so soon on this occasion of my first public appearance

## THE CORONATION REFORMS.

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### INDIAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS.

*Simla, the 25th August, 1911.*

*To the Right Hon'ble the Marquess of Crewe,  
K. G., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.*

MY LORD MARQUESS—We venture in this despatch to address Your Lordship on a most important and urgent subject embracing two questions of great political moment, which are in our opinion indissolubly linked together. This subject has engaged our attention for some time past, and the proposals which we are about to submit for Your Lordship's consideration are the result of our mature deliberation. We shall in the first place attempt to set forth the circumstances which have induced us to frame these proposals at this particular juncture, and then proceed to lay before Your Lordship the broad general features of our scheme.

#### CALCUTTA AN ILL-ADAPTED CAPITAL.

2. That the Government of India should have its seat in the same city as one of the chief Provincial Governments, and moreover in

## THE CORONATION REFORMS

a city geographically so ill adapted as Calcutta to be the Capital of the Indian Empire, has long been recognised to be a serious anomaly. We need not stop to recall the circumstances in which Calcutta rose to its present position. The considerations which explain its original selection as the principal seat of Government have long since passed away, with the consolidation of British rule throughout the Peninsula, and the development of a great inland system of railway communication, but it is only in the light of recent developments, constitutional and political, that the drawbacks of the existing arrangement and the urgency of a change have been fully realised.

On the one hand, the almost incalculable importance of the part which can already safely be predicted for the Imperial Legislative Council, in the shape it has assumed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, renders the removal of the Capital to a more central and easily accessible position practically imperative. On the other hand, the peculiar political situation which has arisen in Bengal since the partition makes it eminently desirable to withdraw the Government of India from its present Provincial environment, while its removal from

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

Bengal is an essential feature of the scheme we have in view for allaying the ill-feeling aroused by the partition amongst the Bengali population

Once the necessity of removing the seat of the Supreme Government from Bengal is established, as we trust it may be by the considerations we proposed to lay before Your Lordship, there can be in our opinion no manner of doubt as to the choice of the new Capital, or as to the occasion on which that choice should be announced. On geographical, historical and political grounds, the capital of the Indian Empire should be at Delhi and the announcement that the transfer of the seat of Government to Delhi had been sanctioned, should be made by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the forthcoming Imperial Durbar in Delhi itself

### PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

3 The maintenance of British Rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor General in Council, and the Indian Councils Act of 1909 itself bears testimony to the impossibility of allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-

official votes in the Imperial Legislative Council. Nevertheless, it is certain that in the course of time the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of Governor-General-in-Council. The only possible solution of difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a large measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular Provincial Government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is, therefore, a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of local self-government on sound and safe lines. It is generally recognised that the Capital of a great central Government should be separate and

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

independent and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada and Australia

4 The administrative advantages of the transfer would be scarcely less valuable than the political. In the first place, the development of the Legislative Councils has made the withdrawal of the Supreme Council and the Government of India from the influence of local opinion, a matter of ever increasing urgency. Secondly, events in Bengal are apt to react on the Viceroy and the Government of India to whom the responsibility is often wrongly attributed. The connection is bad for the Government of India, bad for the Bengal Government, and unfair to the other Provinces whose representatives view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. Further, public opinion in Calcutta is by no means always the same as that which obtains elsewhere in India, and it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to its influence.

### DELHI AS THE CAPITAL

5 The question of providing a separate Capital for the Government of India has often been



## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

interests are sometimes opposed to those of Calcutta, and would thus be in a better position to deal impartially with the railway and commercial interests of the whole of India

### POLITICAL ADVANTAGES

6 The political advantages of the transfer it is impossible to overestimate Delhi is still a name to conjure with It is intimately associated in the minds of the Hindus with sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of history It was in the plains of Delhi that the Pandava princes fought out with the Kaurawas, the epic struggle recounted in the "Mahabharata" and celebrated on the banks of the Jumna, the famous sacrifice which consecrated their title to Empire The Purana Kila still marks the site of the city which they founded and called Indraprastha, barely 3 miles from the south gate of the modern city of Delhi

7 To the Mahomedans it would be a source of unbounded gratification to see the ancient capital of the Moghuls restored to its proud position as the seat of Empire Throughout India, as far south as the Mahomedan conquest extended, every walled town has its "Delhi

Gate" and among the masses of the people it is still revered as the seat of the former Empire. The change would strike the imagination of the people of India, as nothing else could do, would send a wave of enthusiasm throughout the country and would be accepted by all as the assertion of an unfaltering determination to maintain British Rule in India. It would be hailed with joy by the Ruling Chiefs and princes of Northern India and would be welcomed by the vast majority of Indians throughout the continent.

8 The only serious opposition to the transfer which may be anticipated may, we think, come from the European Commercial Community of Calcutta who might, we fear, not regard the creation of a Governorship of Bengal as altogether adequate compensation for the withdrawal of the Government of India. The opposition will be quite intelligible, but we cannot doubt upon their patriotism to reconcile them to a measure which would greatly contribute to the welfare of the Indian Empire. The Bengalis might not of course be favourably disposed to the proposal if it stood alone, for it will entail the loss of some of the influence which they now exercise owing to the fact that

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Calcutta is the headquarters of the Government of India, but as we hope presently to show, they should be reconciled to the change by other features of our scheme which are specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment. In these circumstances, we do not think that they would be so manifestly unreasonable as to oppose it and, if they did, might confidently expect that their opposition would raise no echo in the rest of India.

### BENGALI SENTIMENT

9 Absolutely conclusive as these general considerations in favour of removal from Calcutta in themselves appear to us to be, there are further special considerations arising out of the present political situation in Bengal and Eastern Bengal which in our opinion renders such a measure peculiarly opportune at such a moment. As to these we would now draw Your Lordship's earnest attention. Various circumstances have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the Partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding, and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure. Eastern Bengal and Assam

have no doubt benefited greatly by the partition and the Mahomedans of the Province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented, but the resentment amongst the Bengalis in both Provinces of Bengal who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever though somewhat less vocal

10 The opposition to the partition of Bengal was at first based mainly on sentimental grounds, but, as we shall show later in discussing the proposed modification of the Partition, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and especially of the representative element in them, the grievance of the Bengalis has become much more real and tangible and is likely to increase instead of to diminish. Everyone with any true desire for the peace and prosperity of this country must wish to find some manner of appeasement, if it is in any way possible to do so. The simple rescission of the Partition and a reversion to the *status quo ante*, are manifestly impossible both on political and on administrative grounds. The old Province of Bengal was unmanageable under any form of Government, and we

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

could not defraud the legitimate expectations of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, who form the bulk of the population of that Province and who have been loyal to the British Government throughout the troubles, without exposing ourselves to the charge of bad faith. A settlement to be satisfactory and conclusive must (1) provide convenient administrative units, (2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Bengalis, (3) duly safeguard the interests of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal and generally conciliate Mahomedan sentiment and (4) be so clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency as to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation.

11 If the head-quarters of the Government of India be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi and if Delhi be thereby made the Imperial Capital, placing the city of Delhi and part of the surrounding country under the direct administration of the Government of India, the following scheme which embraces three interdependent proposals would appear to satisfy all these conditions.

(I) To re-unite the five Bengali-speaking divisions, *viz*, the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca,

## THE CORONATION REFORMS.

Rajashahai and Chitagong Divisions, forming them into a Presidency to be administered by a Governor-in-Council. The area of the Province will be approximately 70,000 square miles and the population about 42,000,000.

(II) To create a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council to consist of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa with a Legislative Council and a capital at Patna. The area of the Province would be approximately 113,000 square miles and the population about 35,000,000.

(III) To restore the Chief Commissioner-ship of Assam. The area of that Province would be about 56,000 square miles and the population about 5,000,000. We elaborated at the outset our proposal to make Delhi the future Capital of India because we consider this the key-stone of the whole project and hold that according as it is accepted or not, our scheme must stand or fall.

## THE PARTITION OF BENGAL.

12. But we have still to discuss in greater detail the leading features of the other part of our scheme. Chief amongst them is the proposal to constitute a Governorship in Council for Bengal. The history of the Partition dates

from 1902 Various schemes of territorial redistribution were at that time under consideration, and that which was ultimately adopted had at any rate the merit of fulfilling two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view It relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal and gave the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had perhaps hitherto not had their fair share On the other hand, as we have already pointed out, it was deeply resented by the Bengalis No doubt, sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis and in saying this we by no means wish to underrate the importance which should be attached to sentiment, even if it be exaggerated It is, however, no longer a matter of mere sentiment but rather, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils one of undeniable reality In pre-Reform Scheme days the non official element in these Councils was small The representation of the people has now been carried a long step forward, and in the Legislative Councils of both the Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal, the Bengalis find themselves in a minority being out numbered in the one by the

Beharis and Ooriyas and in the other by the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal and the inhabitants of Assam. As matters now stand the Bengalis can never exercise in either Province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time as the representative character of the Legislative Councils increases, and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is, therefore, only too much reason to fear that, instead of dying down, the bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute.

### ITS FAILURE

13 It has frequently been alleged in the Press that the Partition is the root cause of all the recent troubles in India. The growth of political unrest in other parts of the country and notably in the Deccan before the Partition of Bengal took place, disproves that assertion, and we need not ascribe to the Partition evils which have not obviously flowed from it. It is certain, however, that it is in part at any rate responsible for the growing estrangement which has now unfortunately assumed a very serious



character in many parts of the country between Mahomedans and Hindus We are not without hope that a modification of the Partition which we now propose will in some degree at any rate alleviate this most regrettable antagonism

14 To sum up, the results anticipated from the Partition have not been altogether realised and the scheme as designed and executed could only be justified by success altogether Although much good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Mahomedans of that Province have reaped the benefit of a sympathetic administration closely in touch with them, those advantages have been in great measure counter balanced by the violent hostility which the Partition has aroused amongst the Bengalis For the reasons we have already indicated, we feel bound to admit that the Bengalis are labouring under a sense of real injustice, which we believe it would be sound policy to remove without further delay The Durbar of December next affords a unique occasion for rectifying what is regarded by the Bengalis as a grievous wrong

15 Anxious as we are to take Bengali feeling into account, we cannot overrate the importance

of consulting at the same time the interests and sentiments of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal. It must be remembered that the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal have at present an overwhelming majority in point of population and that if the Bengali speaking Divisions were amalgamated on the lines suggested in our scheme, the Mahomedans would still be in a position of approximate numerical equality with or possibly of a small superiority over the Hindus. The future Province of Bengal, moreover, will be a compact territory of quite moderate extent. The Governor in Council will have ample time and opportunity to study the needs of the various communities committed to his charge. Unlike his predecessors he will have a great advantage in that he will find ready to hand at Dacca a second Capital with all the conveniences of ordinary proved headquarters. He will reside there from time to time just as the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces frequently resides in Lucknow and he will in this way be enabled to keep in close touch with Mahomedan sentiment and interests. It must also be borne in mind that the interests of Mahomedans will be safeguarded by the special repre-

character in many parts of the country between Mahomedans and Hindus. We are not without hope that a modification of the Partition which we now propose will in some degree at any rate alleviate this most regrettable antagonism.

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sentation which they enjoy in the Legislative Councils, while as regards representation on local bodies they will be in the same position as at present. We need not, therefore, trouble Your Lordship with the reasons why we have discarded the suggestion that a Chief Commissionership or a semi-independent Commissionership within the new Province might be created at Decca.

### A GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

16 We regard the creation of a Governor-in-Council of Bengal as a very important feature of our scheme. It is by no means a new one. The question of the creation of a Governorship was fully discussed in 1867 and 1868 by the Secretary of State and the Government of India, and a Committee was formed on the initiative of Sir Stafford Northcote to consider it and that of the transfer of the Capital elsewhere. In the somewhat voluminous correspondence of the past, the most salient points that emerge are (1) that a Governorship of Bengal would not be compatible with the presence in Calcutta of the Viceroy and the Government of India, (2) that, had it been decided to create a Governorship of Bengal, the question of the transfer of the Capital

from Calcutta would have been taken into consideration; (3) that, although a majority of the Governor-General's Council and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir William Grey) were in favour of the creation of a Governorship, Sir John Lawrence, the Governor-General, was opposed to the proposal, but for purposes of better administration contemplated the constitution of a Lieutenant-Governorship of Behar and the separation of Assam from Bengal, under a Chief Commissioner. Since the discussions of 1867-1868, considerable and very important changes have taken place in the constitutional development of Bengal. That Province has already an Executive Council, and the only change that would, therefore, be necessary for the realisation of this part of our scheme is that the Lieutenant Governorship should be converted into a Governorship. Particular arguments have from time to time been urged against the appointment of a Governor from England. These were that Bengal more than any other Province requires the head of the Government to possess an intimate knowledge of India and of the Indian people, and that a statesman or politician appointed from England

without previous knowledge of India would in no part of the country find his ignorance a greater drawback or be less able to cope with the intricacies of an exceedingly complex position

17 We have no wish to underrate the great advantage to an Indian administration of an intimate knowledge of the country and of the people he is to govern. At the same time actual experience has shown that a Governor carefully selected and appointed from England and aided by a Council, can successfully administer a large Indian Province and that a Province so administered requires less supervision on the part of the Government of India.

In this connection we may again refer to the correspondence of 1867-68, and cite two of the arguments employed by the late Sir Henry Maine, when discussing the question of a Council form of Government for Bengal. They are (1) that the system in Madras and Bombay has enabled a series of men of no conspicuous abilities to carry on a difficult Government for a century with great success, (2) that the concession of a full Governorship to Bengal would have a good effect on English public opinion, which would accordingly cease

to impose on the Government of India a responsibility which it is absolutely impossible to discharge in view of the great difficulties connected with the administration of Bengal. We attach the highest importance to these arguments. We are also convinced that nothing short of a full Governorship would satisfy the aspirations of the Bengalis and of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal. We may add that, as in the case of the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, the appointment would be open to members of the Indian Civil Service, although no doubt in practice the Governor will usually be recruited from England.

18 On the other hand one very grave and obvious objection has been raised in the past to the creation of a Governorship for Bengal which we should fully share, were it not disposed of by the proposal which constitutes the keystone of our scheme. Unquestionably a most undesirable situation might and would quite possibly arise if a Governor General of India and a Governor of Bengal, both selected from the ranks of English public men, were to reside in the same Capital and be liable to be brought in various ways into regrettable antagonism or rivalry. This indeed constitutes yet



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another, and in our opinion a very cogent reason, why the headquarters of the Government of India should be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi.

### BEHAR FOR THE BEHARIS

19 We now turn the proposal to create a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. We are convinced that, if the Governor of Bengal is to do justice to the territories which we propose to assign to him and to safeguard the interests of the Mahomedans of his Province, Behar and Chota Nagpur must be dissociated from Bengal. Quite apart, however, from that consideration we are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi speaking people now included within the Province of Bengal a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalis and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of "Behar for the Beharis" has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments, an excessive number of offices in Behar having been held by Bengalis. The Beharis are a sturdy, loyal people, and it is a matter of common knowledge that, although they have long

desired separation from Bengal, they refrained at the time of the Partition from asking for it, because they did not wish to join the Bengalis in opposition to the Government. There has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years, and a strong belief has grown up among Beharis that Behar will ever develop until it is dissociated from Bengal. That belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our own initiative a thoroughly sound and much desired change. The Oriyas like the Beharis have little in common with the Bengalis and we propose to leave Orissa and the Sambalpur District with Behar and Chota Nagpur. We believe that this arrangement will well accord with popular sentiment in Orissa and will be welcome to Behar as presenting a seaboard to that Province. We need hardly add that we have considered various alternatives such as the making over of Chota Nagpur or of Orissa to the Central Provinces, and the creation of a Chief Commissionership instead of a Lieutenant Governorship for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, but none of them seem to

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deserve more than passing consideration and we have, therefore, refrained from troubling Your Lordship with the overwhelming arguments against them. We have also purposely refrained from discussing in this despatch questions of subsidiary importance which must demand detailed consideration when the main features of the scheme are sanctioned and we are in a position to consult the Local Governments concerned.

### ASSAM

20 We now pass on to the last proposal *viz*, to restore the Chief Commissionership of Assam. This would be merely a reversion to the policy advocated by Sir John Lawrence in 1867. This part of India is still in a backward condition and more fit for administration by a Chief Commissioner than a more highly developed form of government, and we may notice that this was the view which prevailed in 1896-97 when the question of transferring the Chitagong Division and the Dacca and Mymensingh Districts to Assam was first discussed. Events of the past twelve months on the frontiers of Assam and Burma have clearly shown the necessity of having the North East Frontier like the North West Frontier more

## THE CORONATION REFORMS

directly under the control of the Government of India and removed from that of the Local Government. We may add that we do not anticipate that any opposition will be raised to this proposal which, moreover, forms an essential part of our scheme.

### FINANCIAL CONSIDERATION

21 We will now give a rough indication of the cost of the scheme. No attempt at accuracy is possible, because we have purposely avoided making enquiries as they would be likely to result in the premature disclosure of our proposal. The cost of the transfer to Delhi would be considerable. We cannot conceive, however, that a larger sum than £4,000,000 sterling would be necessary. In and with that figure probably could be found the three years interest on the capital which would have to be paid till the necessary works and buildings were completed. We might find it necessary to issue a "City of Delhi" Gold loan at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent guaranteed by the Government of India, the interest or the larger part of the interest on this loan being eventually obtainable from rents and taxes, in connection with the general enhancement of land values which would ensue at Delhi as a result of the transfer. We should

## SPRECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

endeavour to secure some part of the increment value which at Calcutta has gone into the pockets of the landholders. Other assets which would form a set-off to the expenditure would be the great rise of Government land at Delhi and its neighbourhood, and a considerable amount which would be realised on the sale of Government land and buildings no longer required at Calcutta. The proximity of Delhi to Simla would also have the effect of reducing the current expenditure involved in the annual move to and from Simla. The actual railway journey from Calcutta to Simla takes 42 hours, while Delhi can be reached from Simla in 14 hours. Further, inasmuch as the Government of India would be able to stay longer in Delhi than in Calcutta, the cost account of hill allowance would be reduced. We should also add that many of the works now in progress at Delhi, in connection with the construction of roads and railways, and the provision of electricity and water for the Durbar, and upon which considerable expenditure has been incurred, will be of appreciable value to the Government of India as permanent works when the transfer is made.

22 As regards the remaining proposals the

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recurring expenditure will be that involved in the creation of a Governorship for Bengal and a Chief Commissionership for Assam. The pay and allowances taken together of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal already exceed the pay of a Governor of Madras or Bombay and the increase in expenditure when a Governor is appointed would not, we think, be much beyond that required for the support of a Bodyguard and a Band. Considerable initial expenditure would be required in connection with the acquisition of land and the construction of buildings for the new capital of Behar, and, judging from the experience gained in connection with Dacca, we may assume that this will amount to about 50 or 60 lakhs. Some further initial expenditure would be necessary in connection with the summer headquarters, wherever these may be fixed.

### NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION

23 Before concluding this despatch, we venture to say a few words as regards the need for a very early decision on the proposals we have put forward for Your Lordship's consideration. It is manifest that, if the transfer

Capital is to be given effect to, the question becomes more difficult the longer it remains

## SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE

unsolved The experience of the last two Sessions has shown that the present Council Chamber in Government House, Calcutta, fails totally to meet the needs of the enlarged Imperial Legislative Council, and the proposal to acquire a site and to construct a Council Chamber is already under discussion Once a new Council Chamber is built, the position of Calcutta as the Capital of India will be further strengthened and consolidated and, though we are convinced that a transfer will in any case eventually have to be made, it will then be attended by much greater difficulty and still further expense Similarly, if some modification of the Partition is, as we believe, desirable, the sooner it is effected the better but we do not see how it can be safely effected with due regard for the public opinion of the rest of India and more especially for Mahomedan sentiment except as part of the larger scheme we have outlined In the event of these far-reaching proposals being sanctioned by His Majesty's Government as we trust may be the case, we are of opinion that the presence of His Majesty the King-Emperor at Delhi would offer a unique opportunity for a pronouncement of one of the most weighty de-

cisions ever taken since the establishment of British rule in India

The other two proposals embodied in our scheme are not of such great urgency, but are consequently essential and in themselves are of great importance. Half measures will be of no avail, and whatever is to be done should be done so as to make a final settlement and to satisfy the claims of all concerned. The scheme which we have ventured to commend to Your Lordship's favourable consideration, is not put forward with any spirit of opportunism but in the belief that action on the lines proposed will be a bold stroke of statesmanship which would give unprecedented satisfaction and will for ever associate so unique an event as the visit of the reigning Sovereign to his Indian dominions with a new era in the history of India. Should the above scheme meet with the approval of Your Lordship and His Majesty's Government, we would propose that the King Emperor should announce at the Durbar the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi and, simultaneously and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation at an early date of a Governorship in Council for Bengal and of a new Lieutenant Governorship in Council for



SPEECHES OF LORD HARDINGE.

Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as the Governor-General-in-Council would in due course determine with a view to removing any legitimate causes for dissatisfaction arising out of the Partition of 1905. The formula of such an announcement could be defined after general sanction had been given to the scheme. This sanction we have now the honour to solicit from Your Lordship.

24. We should thus be able after the Durbar to discuss in detail with local and other authorities the best method of carrying out a modification of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all.

We have the honour to be, my Lord Marquess,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Servants

(SD) HARDINGE OF PENSHURST,

„ O'MOORE,

„ CREAGH,

„ GUY FLETCHER WILSON,

„ J. L. JENKINS,

„ R. W. CARLYLE,

„ S. H. BUTLER,

„ SAHYID ALI IMAM,

„ W. H. CLARK.

## APPENDIX.

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### THE ROYAL BOONS

The announcements made at His Majesty's command by the Governor-General were as follow —

"To all to whom these presents may come, by the command of His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fifth, by the grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India

"I, His Governor General, do hereby declare and notify the grants, concessions, reliefs and benefactions which His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow upon this glorious and memorable occasion —

"Humbly and dutifully submissive to His Most Gracious Majesty's will and pleasure the Government of India have resolved, with the approval of His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State, to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Indian Empire, and have decided in recognition of a very commendable demand to act themselves to making education in India as accessible and wide as possible. With this purpose they propose to devote at once fifty lakhs to the promotion of truly popular education, and it is the firm intention of Government to add to the grant now announced further grants in future years on a generous scale

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"Graciously recognising the signal and faithful services of his forces by land and seas the King Emperor has charged me to announce the award of half a month's pay of rank to all non commissioned officers and men and reservists both of His British Army in India and His Indian Army, to the equivalent ranks of the Royal Indian Marine, and to all permanent employees of departmental or non combatant establishments paid from the Military Estimates whose pay may not exceed the sum of Rs 50 monthly

' Furthermore, His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that from henceforth the loyal Native Officers and men and reservists of His Indian Army shall be eligible for the grant of the Victoria Cross for valour, that membership of the Order of British India shall be increased during the decade following His Imperial Majesty's Coronation Durbar by fifty two appointments in the first class and that in mark of these historic ceremonies fifteen new appointments in the first class and nineteen new appointments in the second class shall forthwith be made that from henceforth Indian officers of the Frontier Militia Corps and the Military Police shall be deemed eligible for admission to the aforesaid order, that special grants of land or assignments or remissions of land revenue as the case may be shall now be conferred on certain Native officers of His Imperial Majesty's Indian Army who may be distinguished for long and honourable service and that the special allowances now assigned for three years only to the widows of deceased members of the Indian Order of Merit shall with effect from the date of this Durbar hereafter be continued to all such widows until death or marriage

"Graciously appreciating the devoted and successful labours of his Civil Service, His Imperial Majesty has commanded me to declare the grant of half a month's pay to all permanent servants in the Civil employ of Government whose pay may not exceed the sum of fifty rupees monthly

"Further it is His Imperial Majesty's gracious behest that all persons to whom may have been, or hereafter may be, granted the titles of Dewan Bahadur, Sardar, Khan Bahadur, Rai Bahadur, Khan Sahib, Rai Sahib, or Rao Sahib, shall receive distinctive badges as a symbol of respect and honour, and that on all holders present or to come of the venerable titles of Mahamahopadhyas and Shams-ul-Ulema shall be conferred some annual pension for the good report of the ancient learning of India

"Moreover in commemoration of his Durbar and as a reward for conspicuous public service certain grants of land free of revenue tenable for the life of the grantee or in the discretion of the local administration for one further life shall be bestowed or restored in the North Western Frontier Province and in Baluchistan

"In his gracious solicitude for the welfare of His Royal Indian Princes His Imperial Majesty has commanded me to proclaim that from henceforth no *Nazerana* payment shall be made upon succession to their States, and sundry debts owing to the Government by the non-jurisdictional States in Kathiawar and Gujerat and also by the Kudumia Chiefs of Mewar will be cancelled and remitted in whole or in part under the orders of the Government of India

"In token of his appreciation of the Imperial

## APPENDIX

Service Troops certain supernumerary appointments in the Order of British India will be made

"In the exercise of His Royal and Imperial clemency and compassion His Most Excellent Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that certain prisoners now suffering the penalty of the law for crimes and misdemeanours shall be released from imprisonment, and that all those Civil debtors now in prison whose debts may be small and due not to fraud but to real poverty shall be discharged, and that their debts shall be paid. The persons by whom and the terms and conditions on which these grants, concessions, and benefactions shall be enjoyed will be hereafter declared

"God Save The King Emperor "

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The following telegram, dated 4th February, has been sent from His Excellency the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India —

The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, on the one hand, and the non official Members of my Legislative Council, acting on behalf of the people of British India on the other, desire that I should forward to the Prime Minister the following message from the Princes and people of India to the people of Great Britain and Ireland. Telegrams from the leading Ruling Princes and Chiefs signifying this desire have been received, and the non official Members of my Council have acted on the authorities of public meetings held at important centres in the different Provinces, at which resolutions, expressing the sentiments embodied in the message, have been adopted

*The Princes and People of India desire to take*

the opportunity afforded by the conclusion of the Royal visit to convey to the great English nation an expression of their cordial good will and fellowship, also an assurance of their warm attachment to the world wide Empire of which they form part, and with which their destinies are now indissolubly linked

Their Imperial Majesties' visit to India, so happily conceived and so successfully completed, has produced a profound and ineffaceable impression throughout the country. Their Imperial Majesties, by their gracious demeanour, their unflinching sympathy, and their deep solicitude for the welfare of all classes, have drawn closer the bonds that unite England and India, and have deepened and intensified the traditional feeling of loyalty and devotion to the Throne and person of the Sovereign which has always characterised the Indian people. Conscious of the many blessings which India has derived from her connection with England, the Princes and people rejoiced to tender in person their loyal and loving homage to Their Imperial Majesties. They are confident that this great and historic event marks the beginning of a new era, ensuring greater happiness prosperity and progress to the people of India, under the aegis of the Crown

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### LORD CURZON ON THE CHANGE OF CAPITAL

In the House of Lords, Lord Curzon of Kedleston rose to call attention to the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to the removal of the capital of India to Delhi and other connected matters and to move for papers. He said

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*The question however, may be raised whether, the action of the Sovereign, irrevocable as we have been told it is, should be barred from any criticism. I am as alive as any man to the value of imagination in Eastern politics but it would not be right that even in India the personal authority of the Sovereign should be engaged to relieve his Ministers of the responsibility which is theirs to supersede Parliament which is the governing authority as regards India and every portion of His Majesty's Dominions or to shut the mouths of public men. It is clear that if you once accept the principle that great political and administrative changes can be introduced in India by the fiat of a Sovereign even on the occasion of his Coronation without challenge you impair the Constitutional machinery we have set up in this country and regard as the guarantee of our liberties. You set up an autocracy which is not the more tolerable but the less tolerable because the Ministers who really exercise it shelter themselves behind the person of the Sovereign and you establish a precedent which might in the future be followed on occasions other than the Coronation. You might for instance tempt succeeding Sovereigns to go one better than their predecessors or in the inverse case you might compel the Sovereign to desist from going to India to celebrate his Coronation at all because he had no dramatic boon to give. These results I think might ensue from our silent acceptance of what has been done. Nothing that will be said here will be in any degree disre-*

pectful to the action of the Sovereign It is the advice of Ministers to the Sovereign that we impugn

What is the gravamen of our charge against Ministers? For the moment I say nothing above the policy itself, and speak only of its manner They decided upon a course the importance of which they would be the last to deny It was a course involving the upheaval of traditions in India which had existed for 150 years, not merely the shifting of a capital, but the creation of a new capital, the reversal either entire or partial of a great administrative act of their predecessors, and the carving about of great provinces All these steps had been decided on in secret without consultation with those whom you ordinarily consult, without any intimation to representative bodies or persons, without any consultation of public opinion, behind the back of Parliament Then you give finality to this procedure, you invest it with a sacrosanct character by putting it into the mouth of the Sovereign Is it possible to imagine a procedure more contrary to the established usage of our Constitution, less consonant with our democratic practice? Look at the results of your action You use your advantage to relieve yourselves of all opposition till it would be too late, and of all criticism until it would be ineffective You institute what is a new procedure in the history of British rule in India. Hitherto no great change has taken place in the Government of India, without full discussion in Parliament and the sanction of both Houses This was the case in regard to all measures of importance relating to India Every one of those measures was debated at length in both Houses

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It is not possible to deal briefly with every aspect of this great case. The decision taken is by far the most important decision that has been taken with reference to the Government of India since the Government of India was taken over by the Crown. It is not merely a question of moving the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, nor merely a question of re-distributing boundaries or provinces containing nearly 100 millions of people in the Eastern parts of India, it is a question raising great issues which must profoundly affect your rule in India for all time. It was on December 12 last that Lord Morley told us in this House of the new and far reaching steps which had been announced that morning at Delhi by the King, and commended them to the consideration of this House. We were all taken by surprise. Lord Landsdowne and myself had only heard this fact a few hours in advance, and though he and I had been jointly responsible for the Government of India for a period of 12 years, though there were other ex Viceroy's in this country who had been similarly responsible for another ten years, I believe not one of us had been consulted or had the slightest inkling of what was going to be done. I make no complaint of that. His Majesty's Government are entitled to consult or not to consult whomever they please. But I think it should be known that this step was taken on the initiative of a Viceroy who had only been in India a few months, and a Secretary of State who had not long enjoyed his great position. Lord Landsdowne then said that we ought not hurriedly to pass judgment on the change, but that we retained our right of free criticism at a later date.

Since then neither he nor I have said one word in public about this matter. While the King was in India it appeared unbecoming to us that any note of discord should mar the triumphant effect of His Majesty's progress.

I believe no British Sovereign ever rendered a greater service to India or any part of his dominions than did His Majesty by his conception and execution of this tour. I say by his conception because everybody knows the idea was His Majesty's own, to which he adhered in spite of the advice given him by many well qualified to advise and I say execution, because although the fullest credit ought to be given to those in India who were responsible for the details of the ceremonial yet it is indisputable that the main success was due to the personality of Their Majesties themselves who succeeded in persuading the Princes and peoples of India that they were not only paying their homage to their Sovereigns in a great and stately ceremonial but meeting those who had for them a sincere and profound regard. If there is one point in His Majesty's tour which I would beg to call attention to it is the utterances of His Majesty. I do not believe a series of speeches was ever made by a monarch or by any British public man which was characterised by a deeper insight, a more balanced and felicitous choice of words, or a more profound and genuine feeling. When His Majesty ended by that message of hope which he gave to the peoples of India as a watchword for their future progress he struck a note which vibrated in the heart of every man, not merely who heard it but who read it in any part of the Empire, and he expressed an aspiration that every one of our deep

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trusts will be realised. Anything I say this afternoon will not in the least degree affect my profound and respectful recognition of the service His Majesty rendered in India to India and the Empire.

The question, however, may be raised whether, the action of the Sovereign, irrevocable as we have been told it is, should be barred from any criticism. I am as alive as any man to the value of imagination in Eastern politics, but it would not be right that even in India the personal authority of the Sovereign should be engaged to relieve his Ministers of the responsibility which is theirs, to supersede Parliament, which is the governing authority as regards India and every portion of His Majesty's Dominions, or to shut the mouths of public men. It is clear that if you once accept the principle that great political and administrative changes can be introduced in India by the fiat of a Sovereign, even on the occasion of his Coronation, without challenge, you impair the Constitutional machinery we have set up in this country and regard as the guarantee of our liberties. You set up an autocracy which is not the more tolerable, but the less tolerable because the Ministers who really exercise it shelter themselves behind the person of the Sovereign, and you establish a precedent which might in the future be followed on occasions other than the Coronation. You might, for instance, tempt succeeding Sovereigns to go one better than their predecessors, or in the inverse case you might compel the Sovereign to desist from going to India to celebrate his Coronation at all because he had no dramatic boon to give. These results, I think, might ensue from our silent acceptance of what has been done. Nothing that will be said here will be in any degree disres-

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of Parliament. Some of us are old enough to remember that the party opposite distinguished themselves by their hostility to Mr Disraeli's far sighted measure giving Queen Victoria the title of Empress of India. But Mr Disraeli, although he was an Imperial Statesman, was also a Constitutional Minister. He did not make the announcement at the Durbar, although Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, was commanded to hold a Durbar on that occasion. Even his Oriental imagination shrank from anything so daring and he followed the procedure of asking the sanction of Parliament. Now, for the first time, a great change is introduced into the Government of India which whether for good or bad, is without the hall mark of the approval and sanction of the representatives of the people. The case is in one respect rendered worse because you have utilised the authority of the Sovereign to settle in your way an issue of the most acutely controversial character. I allude of course to the Partition of Bengal, upon which parties both in India and in this country are, and have been, sharply divided. This is, indeed, a very dangerous precedent for if the King may be brought in to upset the decision of one party he may equally be brought in to upset the policy of another. There is one more insidious danger. If the policy which you have put into the mouth of the Sovereign is a popular and successful policy—as we all hope it may be—then the credit will attach in a large measure, to the Sovereign. But supposing your policy is not so fortunate in its results? Then some portion of the blame can hardly fail to fall on the innocent shoulders of the Sovereign himself.

These are some of the main reasons why we

regard your conduct as somewhat unconstitutional. When I say "unconstitutional" I mean that it is contrary to the settled practice and established usage of our Constitution. You have done in India what no British Government has done there before. You have done what you would not have dared to attempt in England, what, if we had attempted to do either here or in India, you would have made the heavens ring with your denunciations, and you have done it in a manner that saves you from retribution and screens you from attack. Lord Crewe may say he could not have done it in any other way. If that were so it ought not to have been done at all. If your policy were so controversial that you could not put it to the judgment of the public, then you ought not to have taken this means of carrying it through. On the other hand, if it were reasonable and popular, then there ought to have been no hesitation in submitting it to public opinion in advance.

There is one defence which I hope Lord Crewe will not make. It is contained in an astonishing sentence in the speech of the Prime Minister the other evening in the House of Commons. The right hon gentleman argued that the two policies of the partition of Bengal and the transfer of the capital of India were on all fours, because in the one case the policy was pronounced by the King and in the other case by Lord Curzon. Surely this is the flimsiest and most transparent of fallacies! In the one case, when the decision was announced in my time it had been discussed in every Government and every newspaper in India, and after a Blue book full of information had been for months in the possession of Parliament and public at home,



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whereas your policy was announced without consulting anybody In the second place, my policy could be reversed, as you have reversed it Your policy cannot Then there is the extreme secrecy and almost indecent haste of your procedure The Government of India has many virtues and I have no doubt some failings, but I have always thought its most admirable feature to be the great deliberation with which it prepares its cases and the frankness with which it takes the public into its counsels No Government lives so much in an atmosphere of public criticism as the Government of India Before any new policy can be adopted there it is examined by the Local Governments, referred to and afterwards reported upon by local representative bodies and discussed in the Press Only after it has gone through this ordeal is it sent home to the Secretary of State Your policy was not referred to a single Local Government, not a single Lieutenant Governor was consulted Even the Lieutenant Governor of the province concerned only learnt of it the night before it was announced at Delhi You cannot quote a single opinion of a representative body in India in favour of your policy Only three years ago in this House was set up, on the initiative of Lord Morley, a great scheme of Legislative Councils in India, Imperial and Provincial, and the noble Viscount was most eloquent about the manner in which those bodies would focus the intelligence, the sentiments, the aspirations of the Indian people They were to constitute a sort of bridge between the Government and the people Did you consult them as to the question of the Capital of India? You may say that your policy was approved by the

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Viceroy in Council I cannot, of course, comment upon the conditions under which the Viceroy in Council gave his assent in India. But I do know that the Council is less experienced than any Council in India before. If the Secretary of State goes on to tell me that his policy was approved by the Council at home, I should be greatly surprised if those gentlemen were consulted under conditions that rendered independent examination and criticism, much less refusal, on their part at all possible.

I pass from the manner and mode of your policy to its concrete form. I have to deal with it in relation to six matters. One, the removal of the capital from Calcutta, two, reversal of the partition of Bengal, three, revival of the Chief Commissionership of Assam, four, the creation of the new Province of Bengal, five, the placing of the capital at Delhi, and six, the question of finance. As to removal of the capital, it was argued that geographically Calcutta was ill adapted to be the capital, being in a corner of India. Capitals are seldom chosen for their central position. Railway facilities are so great that geographical difficulties are overcome. There is the other extraordinary argument that it is a serious anomaly that the two Governments, Imperial and Local, should exist side by side in the same city, that the Governor General thereby became saddled with the responsibility of the Bengal Government, and that the Local Government suffered from the loss of a sense of responsibility. In my experience the most friendly relations prevailed between the two Governments. Then the biggest anomaly has been left untouched. For seven months of the year Imperial and Local Governments exist side by side on the narrow ridge of Simla, a

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much more anomalous and difficult position than their existence side by side for the remainder of the year in Calcutta. I invite the noble marquis to say, as he has turned the Governor of India out of Calcutta, whether he is going to turn it out of Simla too.

The third reason given in the Despatch is, I venture to say, the real one, though it is wrapped up in somewhat euphemistic language. The Government of India say that they desired to withdraw the Government of India from its present provincial environment and from the influence of local opinion. I am indeed amused at a Liberal Government desiring to withdraw its representatives from contact with local opinion. How often did Lord Morley reproach me in the old days with having carried my partition of Bengal without sufficient reference to local opinion? Well, I have no doubt that this represents the real feeling and desire of the Government of India. They desire to escape the somewhat heated atmosphere of Bengal and to say good bye to the Bengali friends for whom they have just done so much. I have some sympathy for that feeling, but do not let us be hypocritical about it, if that is the reason why you are leaving Calcutta, do not attempt to assign other reasons which are of greatly inferior importance. As to the future of Calcutta, I am not one of those who think that the removal from Calcutta will seriously and detrimentally affect it. The importance of Calcutta results from its position on the sea, from its proximity to the great sources of supply of jute and coal and tea and from the enterprise of its merchants. I dare say there will be some displacement of trade, some depreciation of property, I dare say some loss of

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money to individual firms, but I have little doubt that the mercantile community in Calcutta will bend their backs to win for their city as great and famous a place as it has had in the past. Personally I think the removal of the Government from Calcutta is much more injurious to the Government than it will be to Calcutta. Of course this displacement will be welcomed elsewhere in India. I have never been able to understand why it is that rival cities regard each other with a jealousy to which rival lovers and even rival politicians seldom attain. But so it is. Glasgow and Edinburgh, Manchester and Liverpool, Milan and Turin, Petersburg and Moscow—in none of these cases is there any great warmth of affection between the two cities or their inhabitants. And it is quite true that the supremacy of Calcutta has always excited very poignant emotions in the breasts of Madras and Bombay.

But you have not merely dethroned Calcutta, you have accompanied that act with the reversal of the so-called partition of Bengal. It is 6½ years since that measure was carried. I used the phrase 'partition' for brevity's sake. I do not think it at all describes the fact. During that time I have seen the most extraordinary descriptions of the object of the Government of India, which made me sometimes rub my eyes. Every one knows that that was an administrative measure which had been called for years. I was not the man to start it. It had been discussed for twenty years before my day. I took it up because half way through my time in India I became acquainted with the scandalous maladministration which was going on in the Eastern province of Bengal and the shocking neglect of

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education and public works and all that goes to make a contented life of the people and with the oppression of the Mahomedans by their neighbours. That was not due to the Government of India, but to the fact that you were trying to administer the affairs of 80 millions of people through one Government and one man, and the only way to remedy it was to divide the province into two. What was the particular line to be drawn was not a matter for the Viceroy. The line was settled by consultation and discussion between the Local Governments and officials, representative bodies, and so on. They agreed upon a line, and that line was based upon ethnical and geographical considerations, the importance of which will not be denied. I gladly accepted it. I knew the obloquy with which I should be overwhelmed, because I was aware that the line of division would run counter to the personal interests of journalists, landlords, and others in certain quarters in Calcutta. But I was willing to run the risk. I decided to bear the brunt because I believed the decision to be right, and because I was certain that in the long run (I hoped in the short run) the truth would prevail. The partition was promulgated in October, 1905, and the Liberal Government came into office in December. They might have disowned my act, and I should not have complained if they had done so. But no, they accepted it. Lord Morley will bear me out that never on a single occasion, public or private, did I ever put any pressure upon him. I do not think I ever mentioned it. They decided on their own initiative to carry on that policy. The noble Viscount said in this House and elsewhere that he regarded it as a settled fact. That reply

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was repeated over and over again by your officials in India. What happened as time went on? The Bengalis began to realise that the agitation was futile. The fruits of partition became manifest.

The new Province advanced in education in good government in every mark of prosperity. Your officers over and over again acting on your instructions repeated the assurance that this was a settled fact and that the faith of the British Government was pledged. It is true that outside a fitful and spluttering agitation was kept up by the Bengali community but that was done more for form than for any thing else and there was neither substance nor life in the agitation. Your Lordships may think I am an interested party. Let me therefore give you the opinions not of myself but of important natives of India. There is a well known Bengali writer Mr. Mitra who wrote a book called *Indian Problems* and who said: "The cut and dried phrases of the professional agitator should not confuse the British public. It is clear that the partition does not make the Bengali a farthing the worse in person, reputation or pocket. It was an admirable move calculated to benefit millions." Then there was a discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council. One of the most conspicuous Congress representatives had repeated the familiar charges against the partition and a member for the Province—(Lord MacDonnell, what was his name?)—Mr. Mazhar ul Huq—got up and asserted that if the Government meddled with this beneficent measures it would be committing an act of supreme folly. I should also like to quote the authority of the distinguished correspondent of the *Times* whose book on India attracted

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so much attention a year ago I quote this authority because the *Times*, is, as I gather, one of the leading supporters of His Majesty's Government in this case, and it is interesting therefore to know what their correspondent said when he was in India three years ago—I speak of Sir Valentine Chirol. He wrote —“The agitation against partition is dying, even in Bengal, and is almost unregarded in the other Provinces. The authorities are too firmly convinced of the administrative value of the division to attempt any modification now, and there is the further fact that any reversal of policy might have dangerous results. The 18 millions of Mahomedans would bitterly resent any suggestion of the repeal of partition. It stands in no need of renewed vindication, for it has been entirely justified by results.’ The second passage is even stronger — I have yet to meet anybody, English or Indian, who can tell me in what respect the partition has injured a single living soul, while one has only to visit the Province, invigorated with new life and inspired by new aspirations, to realise the benefits which the severance has conferred upon millions of people. To alter or to modify it now would be suicidal folly. It would be worse, for it would be a criminal blunder.’ That is very strong language, and I leave His Majesty's Government to dispose of it as best they can. This is the moment when the *spurious and vexatious agitation* has died down, and the benefits of partition conclusively vindicated, when everything is going well in the new Province that a new Viceroy appears on the scene and in a few weeks is enabled to inform the world that all that has been entirely wrong. The

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I dare say the Secretary of State will try to console me by saying that partition has not been revoked—that he has divided Bengal into three, and that therefore he is carrying further the principle which I adopted. In fact that is true. There is no reversion to the *status quo ante*. Nobody would be foolish or insane enough to propose such a thing. But to all intents and purposes the old partition has been reversed. Perhaps the best judges whether partition is reversed or not will be found in India herself. Directly after the announcement was made at Delhi the Congress Committee met and passed a vote of thanks to the Government for the fulfilment of the political aspirations and subsequently, at the meeting of the Congress the President spoke of the annulment of partition as a triumph in the most momentous Constitutional struggle in modern times. Nor in any part of India is there any doubt that agitation has won the day. You may disclaim that that was your intention but so it is universally regarded and if so no one is really responsible but yourselves. If you declare a measure to be a settled fact and instruct your officials so to inform the people and if they, six years later throw to the winds what you have said can you be surprised that this is regarded as an exhibition of weakness or that it is thought and said that agitation has won the day? The position of Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal is one of the saddest features of the present situation. For six years or more they have held aloof from agitation and have occupied themselves with building up their Province. No wonder they feel bitter! I speak from a knowledge of resolutions which have been passed in all their cities. It is a matter of common knowledge



that their leading nobleman, when he was decorated the other day at Delhi, said. "The ribbon which you hang round my neck is a halter with which I am to hang myself "

The Marquess of Crewe May I ask the authority for that statement

Earl Curzon I can give the noble Marquess the authority All these resolutions speak of the Government having gone back on its word It is a bad thing for the Government of India when its word is broken It is a bad thing for the prestige of Government It is a bad thing for your officers too I wonder how you paused to think what are the sentiments of your officials in this Province who for years past have been assuring the people that you would be true to your word, and who now see—I will not say their work thrown away, because good work is never thrown away but see the pledges they have given with your authority broken In their despatch the Government of India say that the numbers of the Mahomedans will be about equal to those of the Bengalis and they will have special representation in the Council I do not think there is much comfort to be derived from that The Mahomedans in India know they cannot compete with the Bengalis organisation Influence in India is not a question of numbers, it is a question of ability and character and organisation Whereas the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal were the dominant element in the province, now the balance has swung round

The Government of India in their despatch say that the new Governor of Bengal is to reside at Dacca from time to time, and the Secretary of State

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goes rather further and says that the Governor should regard Dacca as a second capital, with a claim on his attention and residence for an appreciable part of the year. What does that mean? Is residence at Dacca to be optional? I do not think the assurances in the despatch are enough. There is a strong feeling in India that it will be well to place some statutory obligation upon the Governor of Bengal to spend a certain amount of the year at Dacca. I do not give any opinion on that point, but I do say we ought to instruct him to spend at least two months in the year in Dacca, and if possible to take with him the Council and the whole machinery of Government. There are two features of your policy to which I can only allude in passing. The first is this. You are setting up Government by a Governor in Council in Bengal. That is an old and much debated question. The weight of authority has always been against the suggestion. Personally I am against Government by a Governor in Council for Bengal. I do not think the situation in Bengal is likely best to be dealt with by a Governor from home, necessarily ignorant of India and likely to be in many cases a party politician. I have always held that the Province of Bengal demanded the very best man the service of India can produce. I wonder if there is a single Lieutenant Governor or ex-Lieutenant Governor who shares your feelings. I rather think Lord MacDonnell does.

Lord MacDonnell. In the new state of things  
—yes

Earl Curzon. I have been brought in contact with four or five, and I have not found one. The

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second feature to which I must allude in passing is this, that the first price you have to pay for your reconstituted Bengal is the discontent of the Service. You know that Bengal will not possess a single healthy district, and it is not surprising therefore, that the Civil Service should have unanimously petitioned to be transferred elsewhere. This is not a selfish or unreasonable attitude on their part. You cannot expect men to go on toiling in that climate from year's end to year's end without sometimes having a change from an unhealthy to a healthy district. You want your Service in Bengal to be the most efficient that India can provide but if every one shirks Bengal the province will obtain not the best but the worst. If you look at the scheme in the manner in which it affects Bengal, there is not much cause for satisfaction. You have yielded to a dying and, as I think factious agitation you have bitterly offended the Mahomedans and taught them to doubt the word on the British Raj, you have set up a province which will be the most unpopular in India and have instituted a form of government which in my judgment will be unsuitable. So much for Bengal.

I must at the risk of wearying your lordships say a word about two other auxiliary arrangements which you contemplate in that part of India. The first of these is with regard to Assam. It is part of your plan that Assam should revert to Government by a Chief Commissioner and the reasons given in the despatch for so doing are first it is a frontier province which ought to be under the direct control of the Government of India secondly it is a backward province and thirdly that no one is very likely to object. I venture to say that these are

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very weak reasons. They are afterthoughts intended to justify the decision arrived at on other grounds. There is no analogy whatever between the North East and North West Frontiers of India. On the Assam frontier you deal with hill tribes armed with bows and arrows on the North West you are confronted with the formidable Pathan organisation. You say that Assam is a backward province. So it has been and you are going to stereotype it in its backwardness. It was because it was backward that we took it up and made it part of a larger province in order to bring it into line with the best conditions of Indian rule. Another defect that you will reproduce is that being a small province Assam has no Service or Commission of its own. It has had to borrow its officers from Bengal and to take of course what Bengal chose to give it and Assam being backward and unpopular Bengal did not give the best and at the end of five years when those officers had a right to revert the best of them went back. The consequence was that at each stage Assam got the worst of the bargain and the administration suffered all round. When we brought Assam into the heart of a bigger province these conditions were removed and Assam got its chance. All these considerations are sacrificed by the proposal and in their despatch the Government of India do not seem aware of their existence. Assam is treated as a petty pawn on the board to be moved about as desired.

A word about the new province of Behar. It is made up of the non Bengali leavings on the west of your new Bengal and it is justified on the grounds that the Beharis do not like the Bengalis and would welcome separation. Very

likely that is true. They say it is in accordance with popular sentiment in Orissa, which certainly it is not, and will be welcomed in Behar as giving Behar a seacoast. Of course, that is absolute nonsense. Calcutta is, and always must remain, the seaport of Behar, to which it is linked by two railways. What is the good of holding out the attraction to Behar of the possession of a sea coast with which there is no railway connexion whatever and where there is no seaport? You might just as well tell colliery proprietors in Staffordshire that you propose to deprive them of their facilities for despatching coal to London and offer them a rival port on the Yorkshire coast. This province of yours has been drawn up without the slightest regard to the interests or views of the inhabitants. Take the Uriyas. No one has paused to think what they want. They could not know because of your secrecy and because you consulted nobody in advance. They want the re-union of the Orissan speaking people. They want to remain with Calcutta. What is the good of Orissa being tied to the tail of Behar where there is no affinity of language or race? They are separated from them by a great belt of mountains and rivers over which we have never been able to carry a railway. I venture to prophesy that that is a blunder that cannot stand permanent. This new province of yours is a bundle of odds and ends thrown together because you did not know what else to do with them. In Bengal you have United Bengalis because they are all of the same race and language but when you come to these other provinces you force into an unnatural union three peoples of different race and language. I shall

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pursue this aspect of the case no further, but I can truthfully say that none of my criticisms, though they may appear strong, are captious. They all rest upon information and, if I may say so, personal experience, and they are put forward, not with the least view of embarrassing his Majesty's Government, but of showing the results of their secrecy and of calling their attention to errors that must be put right before a settlement is made final.

• Perhaps it may be said that all these anomalies, if they exist, are compensated for by the transfer of the capital to Delhi, and we may be asked, "Is not this a great Imperial scheme?" I suppose all of us who have served in India have thought a great deal about Delhi. I had to decide whether to hold the Durbar at Delhi, and I decided unhesitatingly in the affirmative. I had to decide whether the site of the Victoria Memorial Hall should be at Delhi, and I decided in the negative. I had not considered the question of the capital at Delhi, although it was often in my mind. There are eloquent passages in these despatches about the historical associations of Delhi, and the Secretary of State, in particular, has rather given rein to his poetical imagination in talking about the old time drama of Hindu history and satisfying the historical sense of millions. I do not deny the glamour of the name of Delhi or the stories that cling about its dead and forgotten cities. But I venture to say this, that if we want to draw happy omens for the future the less we say about the history of Delhi the better. Modern Delhi is only 250 years old. It was only the capital of the Moghuls in the expiring years of their regime, and it was only the capital

of their effective rule for little more than 100 years. Of course there were capitals there before it, but all have perished, one after another. We know that the whole environment of Delhi is a mass of deserted ruins and graves, and they present to the visitor, I think, the most solemn picture you can conceive of the mutability of human greatness. You may say that the fate of India has been decided three times outside Delhi. So it has, and on each occasion it is the defenders who have been defeated. I venture to say that the less you say about the history of Delhi the better, and his Majesty's Government will be on much surer ground if instead of saying anything about the dead capitals of the past, they try to create a living capital in the future. (Hear, hear)

What is the case they have made for the choice of Delhi as a capital? The points they name are that its situation is central, that it is the meeting place of many railways, that it is reasonably near to Simla, and that, therefore, there will be a saving in the cost of the annual migration, and that it is in close proximity to some at any rate of the great Provinces of India. I desire to allow full value to these considerations for what they may be worth, although none of them appears to be vital. While, for instance, Delhi is more central to Bombay, it is much less central to Burma or Madras, than that great city, or to Mysore or Hyderabad, the principalities of great Princes. Again, if it is so close to Simla why is it necessary to have two capitals with all their officers and paraphernalia within 12 hours of each other? When you refer to the loyalty of the Princes, which is one of the most splendid assets of India, I am not sure that it is

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at all desirable that they should be brought up from their States in constant residence at the capital of the Government. These may be on the whole minor points, but I would press four major points. *First*, as to the healthiness of Delhi, *second*, as to its strategical position, *third*, as to the accessibility of the Government and the capital to public opinion. Above all, I desire to ask the effect the institution of your capital at Delhi will have on India and British rule in India in the times that lie before us. These are real factors which no historical associations no amount of sentimental glamour ought to be allowed to override. As to the healthiness of Delhi, the despatch says that it possesses a good climate for seven months, and that the Government will live there from October 1 to May 1. Are you quite sure of that? I have been in Delhi in October and in May several times, and I know those are months of the year in which there is a good deal of fever and malaria there, particularly after the rains. In former days the water supply of Delhi was very bad, but now it is got by filtered water from the river. Have you satisfied yourselves that you can from that or from other sources derive a water supply for a great capital city?

Take the question of site. The Government of India were in such haste that we are told in the papers they settled on the site of the Durbar camps and they even invited His Majesty to lay the foundation stone. May I tell your lordships a little story? When I was in India I too held a Durbar on the same site, and when that Durbar was over, feeling that in some way or other the site which had witnessed the Proclamation of Queen Victoria's



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Imperial Title and also the Proclamation of the Coronation of the late King Edward the Seventh ought to be commemorated, I set about endeavouring to convert the arena and its surroundings into a beautiful and orderly garden and to create a memorial that should be worthy of those great events. Lord Minto will bear in mind what I am going to refer to. These attempts went on for two years, and at the end of that time it was found that the soil was so impregnated with alkalis that nothing would grow. After the rains the whole expanse was inundated and was converted into a great marsh, the waters of which, when they receded, killed everything in the soil. There is only one village on the site, and that village is surrounded by tall walls of mud in order to keep out the inundations which prevail for months every year. I have been informed that the Government of India have already abandoned the first site they selected and are looking for something else. I do not want to put any difficulties in the way of getting a site—how could I? I only want the Secretary of State to recognise that the question of site is of great importance, and it would, indeed, be a calamitous thing if you planted down your capital on a site where, in the future, you found Englishmen could not live.

I take the second point, a point with which it is rather difficult to deal, but on which I must say a word—that is the security of the position of Delhi. I dare say noble lords are familiar with the famous pronouncement of the Duke of Wellington. It is contained in Lord Stanhope's "Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington at Welmer Castle" in 1844. "I talked to the Duke on India. He has, I find, strong opinion, against the idea of

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transferring the seat of Government from Calcutta to one of the cities higher up the country, as Agra. It is indispensable, he thinks, to the maintenance of our Indian Empire that our Indian capital should be in some situation where our naval superiority may, if necessary, be brought into play.' I am far from saying that the strategical position in India is the same now as in the days of the Duke of Wellington. India has been absolutely transformed since then. The strength of British power is immeasurably greater than it was, railway communication has spread everywhere throughout the country, fire arms alone are entirely different from what they were in those days. But the physical facts of India are unalterable, they remain exactly the same. Look at it in this way. If the Government of India had been in Delhi at the time of the Mutiny, would you have been satisfied with your position? I know many good authorities in India, not at all unprepared to accept the change of capital to Delhi, who are by no means convinced of the desirability of placing the seat of Government and the residence of the Viceroy in so advanced a position (Hear, hear). And I know, further, that what I am saying at this table is the view of the most competent military opinion and military authorities in India. I am not competent to offer an opinion on the matter myself. I will only say this, that while I shall welcome any indication from the noble marquess that the matter has been carefully considered by those who are qualified to advise, the situation, so far as I understand it, is one that must cause him some degree of anxiety.

Suppose all these doubts to be resolved. Suppose you get your site and drain it, and get your water

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supply, and you are perfectly satisfied as to the strategical security of your position, and I hope all that may be the case. When you have built your capital will it be a source of influence and of strength to your Government? Will it enable them better to understand the heart of India, and grasp its problems? That is the real issue we ought to bear in mind. What is the great danger that attends the Government of India? It is this, and it is responsible for the agitation which has gone for years against the movement to the hills. It is the danger that the Government of India may become aloof from public opinion, that it may be shut off from the main currents of public life, that it may become immersed in a sort of bureaucratic self satisfaction. There was no fear of that when you went down to Calcutta. At Calcutta you were in the surge and movement of life. There was a mixed society there. You heard opinions of every variety of form—opinions of merchants, bankers, traders, business men of every sort. There was the society of judges and lawyers, both European and Native. There were the officials of local Government. There was a regular stream of travellers and visitors coming into the country from all parts of the world. It was life and when, after my long residence at Simla, I went, on my tours in the country to Calcutta, I felt once again life and movement throbbing around me. I say distinctly that our time at Calcutta was of enormous value to the Government. It brightened our minds, it widened our outlook, it brought us into the main stream of national life. There is serious danger that, when you have built your capital at Delhi, Government will become more isolated,

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more bureaucratic, less in touch with public opinion than it is now. You are going to create a territorial enclave, you are going to run the risk that your Government will become a political enclave. Delhi cannot be either a manufacturing city or a distributing centre, for the trade of India must exist on the sea. There can be no trading community there on a large scale. There is to be no High Court there. There will be the people who will come up to do business with the Government from time to time, there will be nobody else. Your new city is to be placed outside the walls of a quite small native town of 200 000 people and there the Government will live shut off, as I think, from the rest of India. If that be at all a correct anticipation, and I hope it may not be, do believe me that the isolation of your Government will have this effect. In the first place, it will diminish its prestige, in the second place, it will react upon the efficiency of administration, and in the third place, it will shorten your rule in India. So strongly do you feel on that point that in one despatch the Government of India or the Secretary of State speaks of the removal to Delhi as a proof of the unalterable determination to maintain British rule in India. Why it should be necessary to give any demonstration of that principle I do not know. (Hear, hear) I should have thought it was the basic principle of British rule, and how the shifting of the capital from the English city with which it has been associated for 140 years to the dead capital of Mahomedan kings can indicate a fixed determination to maintain your rule in India. I cannot tell. (Hear, hear) And if you re assert your determination to do so at the same time that

you weaken the supports on which that determination rests you will not be better off, but worse off

There only remains the question of finance and the question of finance is in a sense the most important of all What will this cost? The Government of India say — "The cost of the transfer will be considerable, but we cannot conceive that a larger sum than £4,000,000 will be necessary, including the three years' interest on capital, while the works and buildings are being completed" And against this must be set the rise in the value of Government land in Delhi, the sale of Government lands and buildings at Calcutta, and the utilisation of Durbar works at Delhi I ask is it conceivable that these works can be completed in three years? I tell you they will not be done in ten years At Dacca, where we had to create a provincial capital it is six years since we began the Government buildings and offices, and they are not complete yet You are going to build, not a provincial capital, but a great capital for all India in three years The idea is ridiculous Is it conceivable that your expenditure can be confined within £ 4 000 000? Just look at the items that have to be considered In the first place there is the cost of the purchase of land You will take that compulsorily and, therefore, no doubt, you will only pay the market value Then there is the cost of the buildings you are going to place upon it the new Government House, the new Council Chamber the new Secretariat, new offices for every department, or, at any rate for a majority of the departments of one of the most complex and elaborate systems of Government in the world It is not merely the

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cost of the land, but the cost of reclaiming and draining it, and of providing a water supply. Then there is the cost of the extra garrison which you must have to protect your Viceroy when you set him and the Government of India in the plains of Delhi. I pass to Behar and the new Province there. There is cost of the new capital at Patna, the cost of the new summer station for that Province, and of the new High Court at Patna, for which there is already agitation. All these are initial charges only, but when they are satisfied there will be very heavy recurring charges. Then, I think, any accountant will tell you that you ought to include in the prime cost the loss on the official structures and buildings which you have set up in such profusion in Calcutta and which will either remain unoccupied or, if parted with, will only be parted with at a loss. Since that estimate was made I have consulted many authorities much better able to give an opinion than I am and have not found a single one who has estimated the total cost of these proceedings at less than £8 000 000. The majority estimate the cost at £10 000 000 while there are others, to whom I myself belong, who say that the cost will not be less than £12 000 000. And what is the moment at which you propose to place this charge on the revenues of India? You are confronted now with the imminent loss of your opium revenue to the extent of some millions per annum. Your Finance Minister of India has, in two successive years in his Budget speech repeated these words —

I am sure it is absolutely essential to introduce great sobriety in our public expenditure if we are to avoid deficit and consequently, enhanced taxation."

It was only three months ago that we were discussing in this House the proposed abolition by the Government of India of a few administrative offices, saving a few thousands of rupees a year, and advocated by them mainly on the score of economy. Even now, almost immediately, you are going to send out a Commission in order to discuss whether you cannot, with a view to greater economy, reduce your Native Army. Money is everywhere wanted in India at this moment for railways, irrigation, education, public works, and social reform. This is the moment at which you propose to place on the Indian taxpayers this great burden. Without further explanation this seems one of the most rash ventures which His Majesty's Government have yet taken in hand.

There is one paragraph in the despatch of the Government of India which has attracted little attention in this country, but which seems to me to be in a sense the most significant of all. It says — "The only possible solution of the difficulty would be gradually giving the Provinces a larger measure of self Government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." By Imperial matters are meant I suppose, the frontier and the Army. Such a federation of self governing, quasi independent States—whether good or bad, and in my view it is bad—represents a scheme of Indian Government wholly different from that which has hitherto prevailed. It is not by dividing governments

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that India has been built up but by the existence of a strong central authority, controlling and supervising all, which you have persuaded in times past the best of your statesmen and administrators to take up. It is true that as time as gone on there has been a delegation of powers to local governments—an inevitable and proper process of which we have not yet reached the end. But if you are going to contemplate, as this despatch indicates, a policy of separate States in India, a sort of *Homo Rulo* all round—Mr John Bright's idea of an India divided into separate States with separate Governments, separate armies, and so on—if you are going to abandon that uniformity in the main principles of Government in the guiding principles of your administration which you have hitherto observed, the result can only lead through disruption to disaster. That is my fear. My fear about this establishment of the capital at Delhi is that your Central Government, instead of becoming stronger, will become weaker. My view is that you will become dissociated from the life of India, and that gradually, as Provinces follow the line you have laid down, your Viceroy in Delhi will become a sort of puppet like the Mogals at the end of their regime. When trouble comes it will not be by separate Provinces acting on their own account that India will be saved, but by a strong Central Government exercising sufficient control over all. I wish I could have accepted the decision of his Majesty's Government in absolute silence but this House would be of little use and those of us who have served in India would be of little use in the discharge of our duties, if on an occasion of such tremendous consequence as this we did



not fearlessly state what we believe to be true  
(Cheers)

### LORD CREWE'S REPLY

I did not expect that any of the five noble lords, members of this House who have held the office of Viceroy of India would be likely to start with any bias in favour of the proposals which His Majesty's Government and the Government of India have put forward. It is not human nature for any man who has done the work of such an office with distinction to suppose that the same work will be as adequately done by another man in an entirely different position. The noble earl has recollections of great public events *quorum pars magnafus* when the Government of India was carried on at Calcutta and he possesses many delightful and some sacred recollections of his own life there. It is inconceivable therefore that either he or any other noble lord who has filled the same office can start with a bias in favour of so large a change. But that does not mean that all these five noble lords share the whole of the objections which the noble lord has stated to our policy, both as a whole and in its details and that some of them may not have found reason when they have examined more closely into the matter to modify the objections which I admit they at first were naturally likely to entertain. If I have anything to complain of in the speech of Lord Curzon it would be that throughout his tone was that of prosecuting counsel. I do not think he has said one word in favour of any detail of any one of our suggestions and I could not help observing continual instances of the well disciplined exaggeration of the practised

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advocate, who knows how to add a little colour at some points and deepen shades at other points

The earlier part of Lord Curzon's speech dealt not so much with the general merits or details of our plan as with the mode and time of its announcement. Like some other critics he described our action as unconstitutional, using thereby a very hard and sometimes ill used word which seems almost to have degenerated into the condition of a term of a general vituperation to which no special meaning may necessarily attach. In this case, however the noble earl did attach something of a definition to his use of the word, because he said that we had violated the settled practice of the Constitution and had screened ourselves from attack by the course we took. As I listened to him I could not help congratulating ourselves that we had screened ourselves from attack, because I do not know what his method of criticism would have been if we had not taken that particular precaution. There are two sets of arguments upon which it is possible to accuse us of unconstitutional action. One is that before framing and certainly before carrying out, this policy we ought to have obtained the sanction of Parliament and the other is that if it be granted that this action of ours is so purely executive that it was not necessary for us to obtain the previous sanction of Parliament even then that it was an improper thing that the announcement should have been made by His Majesty at the Durbar at Delhi. Of course if the first of these charges could be sustained the second would be also sustained. Because if it had been necessary for us to obtain previous Parliamentary sanction either to the removal of the seat of Government from Calcutta to Delhi, or

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to the creation of the new Province, it is obvious there would have been public discussion, and therefore there would have been no possibility of its being announced for the first time at the Durbar

There seems to be some misapprehension as to the origin of our policy. I have seen it spoken of as though it had been imposed upon the Government of India from here by His Majesty's Government in obedience to certain abstract principles which are believed to be those of the Liberal Party. That is, of course, altogether untrue. The whole policy was worked out step by step between the Government of India and ourselves here, as a series of Acts of Administration, in some degree interdependent but distinct and separate in themselves. The noble earl reminded us that even Lord Beaconsfield with all the gorgeousness of his Oriental Imagination, did not attempt to carry out the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Queen Victoria without applying to Parliament. That is perfectly true. But then, the change in the Royal style was a matter which affected this country as much as it did India. I am disposed to agree with the noble lord that certain members of the party to which I belong then took a mistaken line in objecting to the assumption of the Imperial title, because events have proved that it was not merely harmless but was in itself desirable. But I would remind him that the backbone of the protest which Liberals then made against the assumption of the Imperial title was the belief that the imagination of Lord Beaconsfield would cause that title to be generally used here in substitution of the ancient style of King of England. Then the noble earl went on to deal

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with what is called the partition of Bengal. In speaking of the various circumstances connected with that partition rather than the partition itself, the noble earl used a tone which I did not quite recognise remembering as I did the debate of June 13, 1908. To day the noble earl told us that in bringing about that partition he knew what the criticism of the Opposition would be and that he decided to bear the brunt of it. But my recollection of the former debate is that the various noble lords, including the noble earl, who were, or might have been, concerned in that partition, were almost tumbling over each other in their readiness to deny that what they called the credit of it ought to be claimed by them. But at this moment we are mainly concerned with a comparison of the manner in which that great administrative change, was brought about and that in which the re partition of Bengal has been brought about by us. I think it is a fair comment that the partition of Bengal was treated by the Government of India and the Secretary of State as an administrative Act, not only requiring the sanction of Parliament, but one of which Parliament need not be informed. When Viscount Midleton who was then Secretary for India made his speech on the Indian Budget in the *House of Commons* that year he never alluded to the subject of the partition of Bengal, although that is an occasion upon which all matters of importance to India are discussed. Therefore I think we can claim that the action of the then Government of India and Secretary of State was a precedent for not consulting Parliament previously upon these proposals of ours. Of course the ultimate control of Parliament over Indian

affairs cannot be restricted, and lies in the fact that it can, at any time, get rid of those who are responsible for the conduct of Indian affairs. But Parliament has not sought to discuss the details of the administrative Acts of the Indian Government beforehand though it reserves to itself the right of saying that those who carry out administrative Acts, which they are entitled by law to carry out, must be subject to any penalty it may think fit to inflict upon them if these Acts are disapproved. I confess that it seems to me that, in taking the line he did on that particular point, the noble earl was walking on somewhat thin ice, because he spoke almost as though India had a Parliamentary system. He spoke without reserve or explanation of the representative bodies whose approval ought to have been sought beforehand, and he seemed to take up a position in that regard which some of those who are called in India very advanced politicians would, I think, hesitate to take up. It is, after all, idle to pretend that there is anything resembling a Parliamentary system in India.

Earl Curzon. When I talked about consulting representative bodies in India I was not alluding to Legislative Councils. I was alluding to the Chambers of Commerce and various associations in the country who have always been consulted by the Government whenever any decisive change was contemplated.

The Marquess of Crewe. I am very glad to have that explanation, and it will be useful because I am afraid that others might have fallen into the same error as I did. Apparently the noble earl was using the word 'representative' in its purely descriptive sense. But of course the charge may

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still be levelled against us that, though we did not come to Parliament or bring the line of our policy before any official bodies in India, we ought to have thrown it on the table to the world at large for public discussion. To turn for one moment to the partition of Bengal. It is quite true that that was in some degree discussed. If I remember aright, in the spring of 1904 the noble earl himself attended some meetings in Eastern Bengal—that is to say, in that part of the province in which the change was likely to be particularly acceptable, in which he foreshadowed the wider scheme and the possible creation of a Lieutenant Governor.

Let me ask you to consider for a moment what would have been the result if we had adopted the course of throwing our scheme on the table for discussions in the Press. We could foresee, and I do not think we should have been wrong, who would be the particular parties who would take exception to the particular parts of our scheme, the reasons for which they would take those objections, and the manner in which they would take them. It is as we hold, one of the merits of the scheme that it does not represent the triumph of any one particular party or creed among the different parties and creeds involved, and there are therefore some features of it which almost any party or section, if they could get the rest of the scheme, would wish to see away. For instance, I have no doubt that a great many of the inhabitants of Bengal would have thought the scheme an infinitely better one if the Presidency of Bengal had been constituted just as we constituted it, but if at the same time Calcutta was left as the capital. They would undoubtedly have preferred that. On the other hand,

the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal, speaking generally, would have preferred to maintain the great numerical preponderance which they were given under the noble earl's scheme in Eastern Bengal. If they could have kept that, they would have welcomed on several different grounds the transference of capital from Calcutta to Delhi. Suppose, therefore, for the sake of argument we had made this question a subject of pointed controversy in this country, announcing that it was an administrative act that we intend to carry out, but that we should be glad to hear what various people had to say upon it. There would undoubtedly have been a marked and lively agitation in Calcutta among the English residents there. I dare say the noble earl would have led part of the agitation which was going to be carried on in this country. It would have been, I think, a regrettable agitation. It might have led—and I myself should greatly have regretted the circumstances but I should in no way have shrunk from it—it might have led to the application to some of the English papers in Calcutta of the more extreme rigours of the Press Act, which, of course, might be applied to them as much as to the vernacular Press. There would also, no doubt, have been a certain degree of agitation on the lines mentioned by the noble earl among the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal. Apart from those two communities, I do not hesitate to say that all the rest of India would have supported us on the general merits of the scheme as a whole just as they are supporting us now. I do not think the agitation would have produced the immediate disappearance from the scene of the Viceroy and myself. But it would have been an agitation of some violence, possibly of some length, and it

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would have left a great deal of ill feeling behind it And I ask—What would have been gained by it? Why was it necessary to embark on a Press agitation or an agitation by public meeting upon this series of purely administrative acts?

I come to the next half of the charge of unconstitutional action—namely, that the announcement should not have been made by His Majesty in person I do not draw any distinction, I do not think it is possible to draw any, between any announcement made on such an occasion by His Majesty's own lips or made on his behalf and at his command by the Viceroy in his presence So far as the effect of those two announcements is concerned the former of course weighs more in grandeur and solemnity, but as regards the absolute necessity of carrying out the announcement thus made, it applies not less to an announcement made at His Majesty's command It seems to come to this that the opinion of the noble earl and those who agree with him is that no announcement ought to be made at Delhi by or on behalf of His Majesty which would cause any difference of opinion in India If that is so it seems to me to come very near to saying that no announcement should be made at the Durbar at all You can hardly suggest any form of announcement which could be made at the Durbar which might not be a subject of dispute and even of discontent to a certain number of people in India Even the most crude and Oriental form of announcement, that of mere largess is open to the possible objection that its distribution may cause discontent The same would apply even more strongly to the remission of any tax because the remission of one



tax may easily cause at least as much discontent as the imposition of another. The answer, I think, to the objection that it was not wise for this announcement to be made by His Majesty at the Durbar is the general gratification which was caused all over India by the fact that this important and, in some points of view, solemn announcement was made on the most solemn occasion that has occurred in the recent history of India. I am convinced that there would have been a feeling all over India of bitter disappointment if it had turned out that the Durbar was merely an occasion for the spectacle of pageantry, however unexampled and however magnificent, and that no serious meaning was to be attached to the unique event of the King Emperor's visit. In our view the occasion and the subject, especially, of course, that of the transfer of the Capital, were absolutely wedded together, and to have attempted to shirk the responsibility of making this announcement on the particular occasion of the Durbar would simply have shown a mere timidity on our part—a timidity of which I think we should have been fairly and justly accused if within a year or the period which might have been thought a proper interval, we had introduced this policy simply as part of our ordinary administration and government of India.

In one sense, of course, there is no such place as the Capital of India, because the seat of government in India is the place in which the Viceroy summons his Council together. But we have always spoken of Calcutta as the capital, and I am not going to say a word in depreciation of the merits or historical associations of Calcutta. Still, to anyone

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who looks at the map of India, it does seem a somewhat singular and remarkable fact that the Government of India should be carried on for a short period of the year at Calcutta and for the rest of the year at Simla. If one might venture to make a fanciful historical parallel it is rather as though, during the great days of the Holy Roman Empire, the government of all Europe has been carried on about three months in Barcelona, and for the rest of year at St Moritz or some other village in the higher Alps. The arrangement is in itself a most singular one, and I think it cannot be disputed that in minds of the great many educated Indians there has been a growing feeling that the stay in the hills has become not merely a question of hot weather migration, but a regular settlement, and does more to impress on the mind that British rule is an alien rule than almost any other feature connected with our Government in India. The noble earl has given us to understand that in making the change the same objection which has been advanced in some quarters to the long stay of the Government at Simla—namely, its isolation—will apply still. I can quite understand that that danger is one which ought to be guarded against, but after all Delhi is not Simla. It is a large city, it is a great emporium of trade, and it is the most important railway junction in India. It is therefore hardly fair, I think, to compare it for this purpose with the charming but isolated settlement in the hills. It is quite true that it will become the duty of the Government of India, particularly of the department of commerce and industry, to keep in close touch with the main current of Indian opinion, and in some respects it will be in a better

position to do what it has been in the past I cannot believe for a moment that the commercial interests of Calcutta will suffer in any way by the change, and I believe that is the sound opinion of Calcutta itself. There is an opinion that her influence will be more marked, that she will be able to put her case more forcibly, and that as the tendency to bigger provincial independence of which the noble earl spoke grows, her independence must in some degree grow with it.

The noble earl went on to speak of Delhi as the new seat of government. He described, he will forgive me for saying, in rather appalling terms the position of Delhi as a city of tombs in view of its past history. The only other important transfer of a capital that has taken place in the memory of anybody now alive was also one from a modern city to what may be described as a city of tombs in quite as full a sense as Delhi. Up to 1864 Turin was the capital of the House of Savoy and the State of Piedmont. In that year the transfer of the capital was made to Florence, and by general admission that was a step towards making Rome the capital whenever that was possible. Six years later it did become possible and Rome, the city of the dead strewn with relics of decay, became the centre of all Italy and remains, and we hope always will remain the capital of Italy. When the Government of Italy moved to Florence there was great agitation. There was even some violence, and some loss of life took place. Then one of the most brilliant heroes of the Italian renovation appealed to his countrymen not to set town against town in rivalry but to think of the interests of Italy as a whole. The tone of that speech was very different

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from that adopted by a great many of the advocates of Calcutta as the perpetual British capital of India, though I am glad to think that the occurrences that followed in Turin have not followed in Calcutta. The noble earl very fairly and properly drew attention to the care that will have to be taken in planning the new portions of Delhi in regard to sanitation. I can assure him that we are most desirous to obtain the best possible advice, and shall not move in too great a hurry, although I hope that we shall not waste any time and that certainly we shall not run any risks of setting apart for the new capital any part of the environment of Delhi which cannot be thoroughly drained or is liable to floods, or is otherwise objectionable on sanitary grounds. I have great hopes of securing for the purpose of advice some of the best opinion to be found on the question of town engineering and planning, and we shall be able to have these opinions before us before we take any steps of an irrevocable kind towards starting our new buildings. I can assure the noble earl that there is no doubt whatever that a copious and good water supply will be certainly obtained for the new portion of Delhi.

I do not desire to dwell on the point touched upon by the noble earl as to the strategical questions raised by the transfer. As he frankly admitted, the case is much altered since the Duke of Wellington spoke and when it had to be frankly admitted even by that heroic personage that it was necessary for the seat of your Government to be somewhere quite close to the coast in order, if the worst came to the worst, that the Viceroy and all his surroundings might be safely packed on board a man of war. We are a long way from that state of

things, and I do not believe that the fears expressed by the noble earl as to the risks to the Government of India by being so far inland are well grounded. When all is said and done the noble earl will remember that supposing a state of things were to arise in some form of an emente or some military difficulties might threaten the Government of India, our position at Simla would not be very strong, though, of course, we should be both at Simla and at Delhi in the immediate neighbourhood of a strong force, supposing it was necessary to employ force at all.

I pass on to the strictures of the noble earl upon the separation of the Government of India from the Government of Bengal. He seemed to think that of the various reasons given in the published despatches for desiring to divorce these two Governments, there was only one of real meaning and substance—namely, that it was thought desirable to get the Government of India away from Bengali influence. He somewhat challenged me on that particular point that it was a desirable thing and alleged that it was bad for the Government of India and the Government of Bengal. I take up that challenge and do so quite deliberately because of these proposals there was not one that had more influence on my mind than the importance of breaking the association between the two Governments. It happens that I have had official opportunity of watching the working of a great many different systems of government in the British Empire, ranging from the purely responsible government of a self governing Dominion to the purely despotic forms of government. I can say without hesitation that in no part of the world I can think of, do I know of a system that seems to me so badly adapted

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'There are very strong arguments in favour of the change, as we pointed out in dealing with the question a fortnight ago One of those arguments is the increasing difficulty under present day conditions of maintaining Calcutta as the headquarters both of the Imperial and of a great Provincial Government Such an arrangement is bad for both parties So long as there is dual control provincial autonomy is impossible''

The House will see, therefore, that the Viceroy and I are by no means alone in the opinions we hold, as the noble earl seemed to think

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matter on which, of course, everybody is entitled to form his own opinion. When the noble earl tells us that the calculations of costs, instead of being £4,000,000, may rise to £10,000,000, and even up to £12,000,000, which I understand, is the noble earl's own figure, unless one could see a thoroughly detailed account of how these estimates have been reached it is very difficult to argue about them. It is only fair to point out that it would not be wise to treat these estimates in the manner which noble lords opposite from their long experience would naturally be tempted to treat estimates of the kind made by Departments in India. It was of course true that the practice of estimating in India has been, and probably remains to some extent, open to a good deal of criticism. The vice of under estimation has, no doubt, been very common, but these matters will not be subject to ordinary departmental control. The Government of India are quite determined to devote, not merely special initial attention, but special continuous control, to the care of the great works which will have to be carried out, and the whole of the work will, I hope, be so completely carried out in the light of day that the danger of under estimation, or of any flagrant excess of cost during the process of construction will be as far as possible avoided. As the noble earl pointed out, the taking of land is in itself but a very small part of the process. The Government of India have announced their intention of taking a very large amount of land, and, owing to the provisions of the land laws of India, that land can be obtained for public purposes without any reference to the possible enhancement of value by reason of the uses to which it may be put. The estimates of the Govern-

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ment of India do not profess to be exhaustive for reasons which your Lordships well know and you are entitled to put this down as a further indictment against the secrecy with which the proceedings were conducted. But I should venture to express the hope—it is difficult to speak with certainty—that though much may be done in three years—it is impossible to suppose that all the works in connection with the new capital will be completed in three years—the total result may not largely exceed the sum suggested by the Government of India.

I will deal briefly with the other points raised by the noble earl. He is one of those I gather, who think there is something in the constitution of Bengal or the Bengalis which causes it to differ from other parts of India at any rate from Bombay and Madras and makes it desirable therefore that the Bengalis should be ruled by Civil servants and not by a Governor in Council. I do not entirely follow that belief. I quite see it is impossible not to see the force of the argument that when the Viceroy was at Calcutta it would have been an exceedingly difficult thing to place also in Calcutta another Englishman of general experience to carry on a sort of rival Government. With regard to Eastern Bengal I cannot help thinking that the noble earl laid on his colours rather too thickly. It is quite clear that the Mahomedan populations of Eastern Bengal cannot like the diminution of the enormous numerical proportion which they possessed in the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. It has been suggested that a number of elaborate special arrangements ought to be made by which they would secure power in various bodies throughout the Presidency and secure a distinct por-

tion of public offices. It seems to me that the best way to correct the balance against the Mahomedans in any part of India is to give them, even though it may mean considerable expenditure, a chance of improving their position on equal terms with their Hindu fellow subjects. That is best done, I believe, by increasing their facilities for education. It is one of the most gratifying facts with regard to the Mahomedan population of India that so many of them are becoming alive to the advantages of increased educational facilities and it would certainly be our earnest desire to bring those facilities within the reach of as many Mahomedans as we possibly can. As regards the particular repartition of Bengal, the Mahomedan community seems to me to have shown remarkable sense and remarkable self restraint in the way in which they have taken it. We foresaw that they would not like it but a great many of them—the most representative of them—have refused to join in anything in the nature of an agitation hostile to the Government. The noble earl claims apparently that the institution of the new Lieutenant Governorship of Eastern Bengal and Assam has been a complete and unqualified success. I should like to give the utmost credit to the able officers concerned but it seems to me impossible to describe the province as in itself constituting a great success. The combination of Assam and Eastern Bengal has never been liked by Assam. Assam I think, began to feel to an increasing extent that it was overshadowed by Eastern Bengal, and its identity to some extent obscured. I believe, therefore, that the re-creation of Assam into an independent Chief Commissionership will be thoroughly popular in

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Assam itself. As regards the residence of the Governor of Bengal I do not think it would be possible to place a statutory obligation upon him to spend a certain time of the year at Dacca. I am certain that both the new Governor in Council of Bengal and the Viceroy with whom he will no doubt discuss the question will be convinced that it will be necessary in order to hold the proper balance between the different parts of the Province and to avoid slipping back into the unfortunate state of things before the partition, to spend a certain part of the year at that place.

In considering the merits or demerits of the scheme it is necessary to regard it as a whole and to consider the balance of the different parts. The noble earl seemed to give colour to the belief that the whole matter has been carried out in the spirit of hurry, which he truly pointed out is foreign both to the Government of India and to the India Office. As a matter of fact the consideration of the question began more than a year ago and since then it was the subject of close thought and of the freest consideration within the limited area of discussion to which it was necessarily kept. The main question we had to ask, particularly when the discussion reached the point at which it became likely that we should suggest the announcement at the Delhi Durbar—was whether there were people whose interests and welfare were likely to be in any degree compromised or injured by the new policy. It was quite possible that the injury inflicted upon some class of persons might be so grave as in the opinion of impartial observers to outweigh any benefits which could be obtained from the change. That I gather to be the opinion

of the noble earl. But I honestly believe he will find himself a member of a very small minority, even in this country : and in India he will find himself a member of an almost infinitesimal minority, for the general reasons which are given in the two despatches of the Government of India are considered by public opinion in India as conclusively showing that the benefits to be obtained from the change are greater than any damage of substance or of sentiment which could be sustained by any class of the community.

I therefore say without hesitation that, in spite of the most powerful and well-directed attack of the noble earl, I remain entirely unrepentant both as to the general features of the scheme and also as to the fact that the policy had the honour of being announced by the King in Durbar at Delhi. After all the opinion of India is what really matters. I should like to remind the House of the very remarkable message which was sent from India after His Majesty had left and was published in the newspapers on the day he reached England. It was unique and unprecedented in the respect that it represented the spontaneous and joint action of the Indian Princes and those who in one way or another are entitled to speak the educated opinion of British India. It was organised by some of the most powerful representatives and also some of the most conservative among Indian rulers ; and it was also authorised by some of those who are spoken of as the most representative of the advanced politicians in India. I do not think it attracted the attention it should have in this country, because, naturally and properly, it was sent through the Viceroy, and it was supposed on that account to

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possess something of an official character. As a matter of fact it had nothing whatever to do with the Viceroy or the Government of India, and the Viceroy did not even know of the intentions of the writers until the whole matter was settled. I think one is entitled to take that message as expressing what I believe and what I know is the general opinion of all classes in India, namely, that the making of this announcement by His Majesty at Delhi was one of the great and most notable features of the occasion and that the kind of criticism which has been suggested by the noble lord and by some others, namely, that in offering our advice to His Majesty to make this announcement on that occasion we were committing a breach of propriety, and indeed doing whatever may be meant by that somewhat vague word unconstitutional, has not entered the mind of the Indian people as a whole or of those who either in British India or in the Native States are entitled to speak as their representatives.

The Earl of Minto, said that this was the first occasion on which he had had the honour of addressing their lordships since his return from India, and he confessed that in many ways he would have preferred not to take part in the debate. He wished that for many reasons patent to their lordships it might have been possible to avoid altogether the discussion of the points raised yesterday by Earl Curzon, but at the same time he felt very strongly that it would be impossible to refrain from a discussion of the policy of his Majesty's Government, effecting vast changes of momentous Imperial importance. As the last member of that House who had had the honour to hold the high position of Viceroy of India and as having lately

been intimately connected with its public affairs he felt that he was not entitled to keep silence

Unfortunately, any criticism of the policy they were considering, which was quite unknown until it was divulged in his Majesty's pronouncement at the Durbar at Delhi, ran the risk of being mistaken in India as a criticism of his Majesty's personal action, and indirectly of their Majesties' visit to India, than which nothing could be further from their lordships' intention. Therefore the position was a very delicate one. His Majesty's Government were answerable for it, and he thought that it ought never to have arisen. It would be a calamity if anything said in that House should in the slightest degree mar the magnificent results of their Majesties' visit to India. The greatness of the Imperial idea that prompted that visit, the determination with which the King persisted in it in the face of great difficulties, the courage with which their Majesties faced much hard work and exertion and not a little personal risk, had certainly won their admiration, while the magnificent reception they met with from their Indian subjects of every nationality, religion and caste bore great testimony to the loyal devotion of India to the Throne which their Majesties sympathetic personality had done so much to confirm. It was his lot to serve for five anxious years in India, years of political unrest, when the political atmosphere was dangerously heated. Lord Morley knew well the stress of those times, and he would always be grateful to the noble viscount for the spirited support that he was always ready to give him. Before he sailed for home great administrative reforms had been introduced and many of the just claims of India had been recognised. These



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had already done a very great deal to restore confidence in the justice of British rule, and a dangerous smouldering discontent had everywhere given way to a much more friendly feeling. But something more was wanted, something that would impress upon the people of India that they, together with their British fellow subjects, owed allegiance to the same great King, that they were together secure of his constant sympathy, and that they together shared in the interests of the Empire, and he earnestly hoped that their Majesties' visit to India had stamped the relations of British and Indian populations with the seal of a lasting friendship. In *The Times* of February 5 there was published a "Message from the Princes and People of India to the People of Great Britain and Ireland," which would seem to him scarcely to have attracted the notice it deserved, and which after conveying "to the great English nation an expression of their cordial good will and fellowship," continued "Their Imperial Majesties, by their gracious demeanour, their unfailing sympathy, and their deep solicitude for the welfare of all classes, have drawn closer the bonds that unite England and India and have deepened and intensified the traditional feeling of loyalty and devotion to the Throne and Person of the Sovereign which has always characterized the Indian people." And the message concluded with these weighty words — "They are confident that this great and historic event marks the beginning of a new era ensuring greater happiness, prosperity, and progress to the people of India under the aegis of the Crown."

In the face of the welcome evidence of so much good work one could not be too careful to avoid in any way marring its future results, one could only

approach with the greatest caution the consideration of the policy of his Majesty's Government contained in the King's pronouncement at Delhi. He had no intention of attempting to deal in detail with the points under discussion. He would rather confine himself to a very few remarks as to the manner in which any previous knowledge of these great changes had been withheld from the British and Indian public until they were announced as an accepted policy which, without any opportunity whatever of considering it they were expected to approve. He readily admitted that there was much that was attractive in the move to Delhi, the capital of the old Mogul Empire. He had often, whilst in India, talked over such a possibility. He was well aware of the warm approval such a suggestion would meet with from the great Chiefs of Central India and Rajputana, whilst the advantages of removing the enlarged Legislative Councils from the political surroundings of Calcutta could not be lost sight of. But on the other hand the interests of Calcutta could not with justice be ignored—the interests of great mercantile houses and of tradesmen. The expense, too, of the move was bound to be enormous, for he altogether disregarded the Government of India's estimate of four millions and there were strategical considerations as to the best locality for the capital from a military point of view, as to which the best military advice was an Imperial necessity whilst surely the fact that Calcutta had been the capital of our Eastern Empire for over 150 years, that from the days of Clive and Warren Hastings her history had been associated with many glorious deeds and the names of many great administrators, entitled her case to serious

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public consideration His Majesty's Government appeared to be ready enough to recognize the sentimental arguments of Bengal Surely British sentiment had a claim not less than they had to be regarded Throughout the meagre correspondence which had so far been submitted to them between the Government of India and his Majesty's Government he found very little trace of a due appreciation of the grave issues involved in any removal of the seat of Government

The same secrecy had been maintained in respect to the reorganization of the Province of Bengal Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal had become law before he arrived in India, and he was not called upon to deal with its merits or demerits He listened yesterday with the greatest interest to what the noble earl told their lordships of the careful study which preceded the introduction of the partition legislation of the thought that was devoted to that legislation, and of the apprehensions in regard to the future as to the results of a reconsideration of that partition and he shared with him in the apprehensions that he expressed But, though he had nothing to do with the legislations effecting partition, he saw a great deal of the aftermath—the aftermath of unrest, of a dangerous unrest—that followed And during those years of unrest he had, naturally, peculiar opportunities of knowing what was going on behind the scenes and of forming some judgment as to the genuineness of the so called national agitation which was in many ways encouraged to rally to the cry of partition and, notwithstanding the extraordinary and belated discovery of the Government of India as to the resentment

which they told them was still as strong as ever in both the Bengals, he unhesitatingly asserted that there was scarcely any genuine national feeling at all in the Bengal agitation against partition. The original agitation in Bengal was really in close touch with the subterranean and dangerous agitation which had been going on for some years in India, and which had not had the opportunity of showing itself above ground before Lord Curzon's partition legislation was introduced.

Lord Mac Donnell asked if the noble lord would give the date of this subterranean agitation.

The Earl of Minto replied that roughly it was three or four years before the partition, which became a useful peg upon which political agitators could hang their grievances. He could assure their lordships that when he left India the agitation against partition was stone dead. He felt bound in justice to what he knew of Lord Curzon's partition to say what he had.

Throughout his term of office the Government of India warmly supported Lord Curzon's policy in the Bengals. They were told from home that "partition was a settled fact." They over and over again asserted that it must continue to be so. They assured the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal of their appreciation of their loyalty and our determination to safeguard their interests. He should think there was scarcely a Civil servant in India who had not declared that it would be impossible for any British Government to reverse the decision it had come to. Only last summer during the Coronation festivities he was approached by a distinguished Bengali leader who asked if, in view of the King's visit to India, there

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was no possibility of a reversal of Lord Curzon's partition, and he told him that no Government of India could possibly entertain the idea of such a thing. And now the declarations of the Government of India, repeated over and over again since 1905, had been disowned, with no opportunity for any expression of opinion from the public in India or at home. Such a policy could but depreciate the reputation of British rule in India.

Referring to the gift of Presidency government to Bengal, he said it was a form of government of which he was not enamoured. He had always disliked the power that existed of direct communication with the Secretary of State, which he did not think conducive to the authority of the paramount power in India. Bengal was full of advanced political thought and of political ramifications which the greatest Indian expert would find difficulty in unravelling. Owing to the great increase of postal and telegraph communication, it had now become possible for correspondence to be carried on between Bengal politicians and politicians in this country. In the anxious times with which he had had to deal this correspondence was one of the greatest difficulties with which he had to deal. If an English statesman with no knowledge of Indian affairs were sent to Bengal, however high or broad-minded he might be, with the power of corresponding directly with the Secretary of State he apprehended that as years went on and with the communication between political parties in Bengal and this country the result would be administration of Bengal from home instead of by the Viceroy and the Government of India, than which he could not conceive any greater danger. He could find only one

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explanation for what had been done. A sop had been given to a certain faction in Bengal as a recompense for the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi.

The key to the position created by his Majesty's Government appeared to be contained in a few lines of paragraph 24 in the Government of India's despatch of August 25. They said — In the event of these far reaching proposals being sanctioned by his Majesty's Government as we trust may be the case we are of opinion that the presence of his Majesty the King Emperor at Delhi would offer a unique opportunity for a pronouncement of one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of British rule in India. One of the most weighty decisions since the establishment of British rule in India was to be taken without consultation with a single soul in India outside the Viceroy's Council and without the advice of a single public man in this country no matter how specially qualified he might be to give it. For the sake of a unique opportunity the Government of India and His Majesty's Government decided to ignore their responsibility to the public in India and at home. That was the position His Majesty's Government appear to him so unfortunately to have brought about. He had not attempted to deal in any detail with their scheme. He had endeavoured to limit himself to a criticism of the secrecy—the unconstitutional secrecy—with which they had withheld from the public all possible consideration of it. Much as he regretted the necessity for this debate he could not see how on public grounds their Lordships could justifiably have refrained from any discussion of such momentous decisions affecting our Indian Empire.

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### LORD MORLEY.

The noble lord who has just sat down said truly that the discussion would be ineffectual, as the motion to the noble earl could produce no result in the way of a change of policy. At the same time, the Government do not for a moment deny that the matters involved in the two policies are fairly topics for Parliamentary debate. I am bound to say I think that some parts of the noble earl's speech last night were not all that could have been desired from a man of his authority and antecedents in Indian policy and history. For example, I think we were all rather surprised, and some of us shocked, that he should have thought it worth while to bring up that story about the Indian who had been invested with a ribbon and made an offensive remark. It is satisfactory to us to be able to say that that story was completely unfounded. The noble earl has been misinformed. It is untrue, and even if true, I cannot but think that it is the kind of thing that on reflection the noble earl had better have omitted.

The debate this afternoon has in no way helped the object of the noble earl. We have had speaker after speaker, four of them, all adverse to his views and propositions. The speeches of Lord MacDonnell, a man of special competence on this subject of Lord Harris, Lord Reay, and now Lord Ampthill, all deprecated the line taken by the noble earl, and all approved almost without reservation of the new policy. There was one exception which was particularly disagreeable to me, the speech of Lord Minto. It was particularly disagreeable to me

because for five years he and I were good comrades in a rather stormy voyage. It was good of him to say something about me, and I can cordially say the same of him. He dwells upon the point of what he calls secrecy. He thinks there ought to have been a much more ample discussion before those resolutions were finally adopted. Now what does he exactly mean? He says 'Oh there were Indian authorities in England who ought to have been consulted, there were lieutenant governors in India who ought to have been consulted.' What would have been gained by asking their opinion upon a point which depended not upon old history, not upon old arguments threshed out but upon the present actual situation? How does my noble friend suppose that any of the noble lords who have been Viceroys of India or Governors of Presidencies could have given point to questions like the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, which have been before the people of India officials and others for generation after generation. As for consulting lieutenant governors I do not wish to say any thing disrespectful of them but looking back upon co-operation with my noble friend I am not sure that I can recall any particular reverence that was paid to them by my noble friend or myself. Therefore I think that is rather a fictitious point. Then my noble friend expressed a very adverse opinion, indeed to Presidency government and he made a point that Bengal is the worst place in which to have a government of that kind and he implied among other reasons because there was communication with people in England. My noble friend and I used to differ sometimes. He attached a good deal more importance to the communications

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with gentlemen in the House of Commons and newspaper editors and so on than I ever did, and I suffered from them much more than my noble friend did, because the result of those communications was a shower of questions to me in the House of Commons

As for partition, there was never, so far as I recollect, any single atom of dissension between my noble friend and myself. I used to be questioned and blamed very much by Lord MacDonnell, for example, for not reversing the partition right away. It is said I did not like the method in which partition was carried but there were other reasons, and what were they? My noble friend was made Viceroy in November, I became Secretary of State in December. We were therefore a new Government. I am sure the noble earl (Lord Minto) would be the first person to admit that a great party sweep having taken place in Great Britain, and a Government of a different tone and complexion having come into power it was all important that nothing should be done to lead people in India to suppose for a moment that there was going to be any great sweep or reversal of policy. There was another reason—namely that it would be wrong, partition having only been in operation for six months or less—wrong and rash for us at once to reverse an operation the effects of which we had had no opportunity of forming a judgment upon. There was a third reason. My noble friend and I were engaged upon a project of Council reform. That was a project which was regarded by a great many people as dangerous as, hazardous in the extreme as opening the door to all kinds of mischief. It was a reform for the successful

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carrying out of which we were bound to have with us as far as ever we could, the good opinion and the friendly aid of the Indian Civil Service and of Anglo Indian public opinion. If they had seen that we were going to reverse Lord Curzon's policy, that we were then going to launch out on this difficult and arduous voyage, we should have run the risk of having our whole course and prospects seriously damaged. Friends of my own were very angry with me for many months for not taking immediate steps for reversing that policy. That, if you like, would have been a concession to clamour, if we had reversed partition in December, 1905. There was a well known member of Parliament who wrote a letter and said that if they would be tenacious in keeping up the clamour they would squeeze me into advising my noble friend opposite to give up. That is the story of the failure to reverse and if there is any charge of inconsistency in abstaining from reversing partition in 1906, 1907 and onwards and now accepting the policy which is not a reversal but a modification of the policy of partition my withers are at all events completely unwrung.

I am only going to make one or two remarks more upon the Constitutional point. What is exactly the Constitutional point? Lord Salisbury said, 'I hold that the Monarchy should seem to be as little Constitutional as possible.' I think I understand what he meant but it is a doubtful proposition. But it is true that we are now dealing with what is undoubtedly delicate Constitutional ground. A very admirable Constitutional writer once said. It would create great surprise if people were told how many things a Sovereign could do without consulting Parliament. The Indian system

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of government is a written Constitution resting on statutes and instruments, warrants and the like which are as good as statutes. The ultimate responsibility India Government shares beyond all questions with the Imperial Government represented by a Secretary of State and in the last resort, therefore through the Secretary of State by Parliament. The Cabinet of the day, through a Secretary of State has an indefeasible right, within limits laid down by law to dictate policy to initiate instructions, to reject proposals, to have the last word in every question that arises and the first word in every question that in their view they think ought to arise. There cannot be any doubt in the mind of any noble lord that *that is the final doctrine*. It has been accepted by everybody, and how can you suppose that we should have tendered any advice to the Sovereign which would in any way have impaired that doctrine? What is the Government of India to do? The Government of India and the Home Government have to regard two sets of public opinion obviously—public opinion in India and public opinion here. Is it not clear that we have satisfied opinion in India? We do know that the step itself and the policy including the making of the announcement by the King, have been received with warm approval in India both by the Anglo Indian officials and by the Indian population. Here is the announcement of the Majesty — We are pleased to announce to our people that upon the advice of our Ministers and after consultation with our Governor General in Council we have decided and so on. Is not that exactly what the Constitution demands? There has been a prediction. The noble earl has predicted,

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among other things that the finance will be nearer £12,000,000 than £4,000,000 I care as much about finance as I do about any Department in the Government of India I think half of my time was spent in remonstrating about discrepancies between estimates sent from India and the actual expenditure when the bills came to be paid. But what my noble friend said last night ought I think to reassure all those who had nervous misgivings which I confess in the early stage of these proceedings I myself had The policy of the Indian Councils Bill has proved an extraordinary success and had more than realized the hopes of my noble friend and myself, and I hope that as the predictions with regard to the policy of 1909 have been realized the misgivings that the noble earl opposite gave utterance to last night will prove to be unfounded

Earl Curzon — May I say one word in reply to the noble Viscount, who rebuked me for having told a story yesterday? Perhaps it was rather a trivial one and perhaps unworthy of being mentioned here But with regard to my authority for it, since the noble viscount asked for it explicitly I may say that I told the story on high authority, and not upon gossip, but with permission to use in this House and the assurance that it was absolutely true

The Marquess of Crewe — Still, on the point of this rather unfortunate story may I say that I am informed that the story as told by the noble earl has been telegraphed to India in this form, that the personage whom he reported as having received a high decoration said that it must be

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regarded as a rope on which to hang himself. The story has gone out in this form as if the personage in question was actually invested with the decoration and made the observation at the time. As told by the noble lord, the story, I suppose, is susceptible of that interpretation although I am quite certain it was not the story the noble earl intended to tell. I am very sorry that he thought his story worth telling at all, but as told in that form it would mean that an insult of a most offensive kind was inflicted by this Indian gentleman with respect to an Order conferred by His Majesty, and naturally that such a story should be believed in India would be most unfortunate from every point of view, and would be a grievous injury to the very loyal gentleman who has most obviously pointed out in the anecdote by the noble earl. My noble friend, therefore drew attention to the fact in order to state that the story in the form in which it has been repeated is not a true one. It can very easily be shown that it is impossible that the story could be true, because the particular gentleman in question although at Delhi, was ill, and was never invested with a decoration. (Laughter) Therefore the story must obviously be untrue. As I said yesterday, I do not know on what authority a casual remark supposed to have been made by this gentleman became the basis for this story, but it is of the first importance to contradict absolutely the form in which it has been conveyed to India through the public Press, and I have no doubt that the noble earl will be grateful to me for doing so.

Earl Curzon —I am not responsible for the form in which it was sent to India. That is really most unfair. The story as sent out to India is mutilated,

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erroneous, and offensive, but I have really no responsibility for that. I regret, of course, that I ever told it, but for the consequences I am not responsible.



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